HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

MACE-BOGARDUS



W. H. Mace Norfolk, Va Dec. 9, 21.



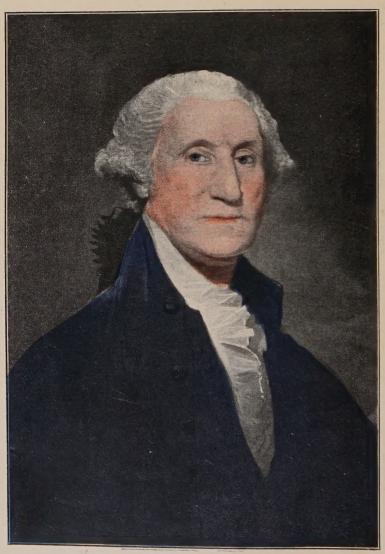




MACE-BOGARDUS HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

HISTORY OF THE





GEORGE WASHINGTON

MACE-BOGARDUS HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

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THE PREFACE

The purpose in writing this text is to present the American people in the process of acting out their history. To do this the authors have had constantly in mind to set forth this history as a series of panoramic views. These views will take hold of the pupil's imagination, enabling his understanding to work.

We have, therefore, taken special pains: (1) To use simple and easy words. (2) To use the concrete form of the word instead of the abstract form. (3) To use short and striking sentences rather than long and complicated ones. (4) To use many "word-pictures" in setting forth events, where the events are important and lend themselves to such treatment. In such cases we have not hesitated to use the word-pictures found in Mace's School History.

A textbook made up largely of word-pictures is necessarily a larger book than one of the ordinary kind. Between the two kinds of books there are many differences in favor of the former, if the pupils are to be considered. In the first case the word-pictures are constantly flashing upon his imagination a series of most interesting actions and dramatic events. Action in history is always dramatic if it shows men in the struggle to attain a common end.

In the second place the understanding is thus furnished material from which it can draw conclusions by its own effort. Many of the conclusions can be self-made if the word-picture presents the facts. Hence the high value of the "problem" or "project" method of study.

Teachers now generally recognize the fact that the "problem" or "project" method is the best mode of attack. The subjects for compositions and the questions in the Appendix will be found useful in this connection. The authors urge teachers to make sure that the pupils regard the text as a reference work to be used in the solving of their historical problems, not as something to be used mechanically, or memorized.

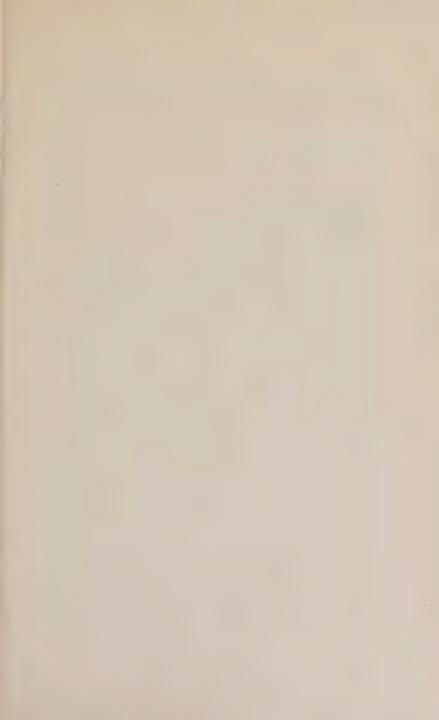
The teaching of effective, functioning citizenship is the great problem before the American schools. Citizenship is a functioning force or it is nothing. But in order to function effectively as citizens Americans must understand their economic and social environment. It is because the authors are deeply interested in the development of sound American citizenship that industrial and social problems have been given such full treatment.

Care has been taken to make clear and full the treatment of the European and world background, while the increasing importance of our interest in Latin America has received ample emphasis in these pages.

The authors have distributed their material in such a way as to meet the requirements of the Committee of Eight, the Committee on Social Studies appointed by the N. E. A., and finally by the joint Committee of the American Historical Association and of the War Service Board.

THE AUTHORS

December, 1920





COLUMBUS BEFORE QUEEN ISABELLA

HISTORY

OF THE

UNITED STATES

CHAPTER I

EUROPE ACCIDENTALLY FINDS AMERICA

THE PEOPLE OF EUROPE JUST BEFORE COLUMBUS

- 1. What Europe looked like.¹ It is not easy to imagine how Europe looked at the time of Columbus. Much of it was covered with great heavy forests. Towns and cities dotted the shores of the Mediterranean and Atlantic, and the land along the rivers. To these towns and cities traders carried the rich products which Genoa and Venice had received from the Far East. To protect their cities and towns from robber bands high walls had to be built around them. On the sea ships were armed to beat off pirates, the robbers of the sea. We must now see what manner of people lived at that time, for some of their children are going to settle in America and make the beginnings of our country.
- 2. The common man (1400-1500). Most of the people of Europe were farmers or peasants, as they were called. Many of them were serfs. The serfs were not like American farmers; they were not free, did not own the little fields they tilled, and dared not leave them. They had to grind their grain at the master's mill and could not hunt or fish without his permission. In England the peasants were much better off. There they were no longer serfs but rented their land from the nobles who owned it, and they were free to leave it when they pleased.

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The peasants did not live on their little farms. They were huddled together in small villages, often at the foot



RUINS OF CHATEAU DE BOUAGUIL,

of a hill or mountain on which the lord or master had his castle home. They lived in poor, dingy, and dirty huts. Only the better class had rugs of a rude sort for the floor, made out of rushes. The children did not go to school, for they

had to work in the fields from daylight to dark.

The peasants did not vote or hold office. The laws were made by the big folks for the peasants to obey. In social rank the peasants were the lowest of all the people. They always took off their hats to the men above them and stood aside to let the lords pass.

- 3. The trained workers. Next above the peasants stood the trained workers, workers in wood, in iron, and in cloth, such as woolen and linen weavers and dyers. These men lived in the villages and large cities. They formed societies or unions called guilds. Sometimes the members of the guild "struck" and forced the rulers to grant them favors.
- 4. The merchant and trading class. Above the trained workers stood the merchants and traders. They grew up later than the other classes but played an important part by 1500. They often joined the king to keep the nobles in

order, or the nobles when the king became tyrannical. Order was necessary for trade. The upper classes looked down upon the merchants and traders because they owned no land. They owned houses, ships, goods, and money. In Holland and England they first won the right to take part in government.

5. The nobles and the clergy. The nobles and clergy were the highest social classes in that day. They owned most of the land. They were called the "privileged" classes, because they could do many things that others could not do.

The nobles inherited their titles and land. There were different classes of them. Some were great and some were small. Some owned vast estates including hundreds of villages and even large cities.² Such a lord could raise a large army. Sometimes he fought his neighbor and sometimes even attacked the king. It was next to impossible for one not born a noble to become one. Nobles married only people of noble birth.

The clergymen were almost the only educated people. They were ministers of religion appointed to positions under the pope. The pope was the head of the clergy as the king was the head of the nobles. There were various classes of clergy: archbishops, bishops, and priests. The higher clergy held estates and had peasants work their lands. There was something democratic about the church. Anyone of ability and the right spirit could become a priest.

6. The king stands highest. Among the social classes the king stood highest. In an early day the nobles sometimes selected a king from their own number. Then they put him down when he did not suit them. But later the king became supreme in power, and the

people then gradually came to believe that his authority

was by divine right.3

In England and in Holland the power of the ruler was checked by a parliament. The parliament in other countries, if there were one, had very little power.

This arrangement or system which bound the common man, nobles, and kings together was known as feudalism.

EUROPE'S KNOWLEDGE OF DISTANT LANDS

7. Stories of the Northmen. The Northmen, living in the north of Europe, early settled Iceland and Greenland and visited the northeast coast of North America. They were bold sailors. Their vessels were only large, open boats, but they did not fear to sail them upon the stormy Atlantic. Driven by oar and sail, and crowded with tall, fair-haired warriors eager for adventure, these



sea-rovers were often seen thousands of miles from home. The story of Lief Ericson and his visit to America (1000) did not spread over Europe until after Columbus made his discovery.

8. Tales of the Crusaders and of great travelers.

In the Middle Ages many Christians made journeys to Jerusalem, the city where Christ had lived. Suddenly news reached Europe that the Turks, cruel followers of Mohammed, had taken the Holy Land.⁴ Western Europe



sprang to arms. For two hundred years (1095-1291) thousands of bold warriors marched at different times to Asia to fight the Turk. These wars were called the Crusades. The returning warriors were heroes in the sight of their

neighbors to whom they told the most fascinating and wonderful tales of Eastern lands.

Marco Polo, a traveler from Venice, spent twenty years in lands of the Far East. He wrote a book about what he saw. Columbus is supposed to have read it. These stories made the people hungrier than ever for the fine goods, sparkling jewels, and rich spices of these far-away

lands. People liked fine things then just as much as now.

9. Smashing the old trade routes turns attention to the West. News came again that the Turks had taken Constantinople (1453). They had now broken up the old trade routes of Venice and Genoa (see map). These



MARCO POLO IN PRISON DICTATING AN ACCOUNT OF HIS TRAVELS

cities finally fell into decay. Their richest trade had been cut off, and their sailors turned to the Atlantic where Prince Henry of Portugal was striving to find a new water route to India.

10. Portugal leads the way to India. The Portuguese were already in the lead in the race to India. They were seeking the land of golden dreams. But the sea was full of horrors to the simple-minded sailors. It was not until



Southern Route Controlled by Venice OLD TRADE ROUTES TO INDIA FOLLOWED BY EUROPEAN MERCHANTS

Dias, a great sea-captain, passed the Cape of Storms, now known as the Cape of Good Hope, and looked out upon the Indian Ocean that Portugal could see the way to India. She did not win the race to India until Da Gama reached that country (1408).

COLUMBUS SEEKS INDIA AND FINDS AMERICA

11. Columbus asks for aid. Columbus was born in the bustling old town of Genoa (§9). He went to sea early, and when he grew to be a man he was drawn to Portugal by the news of stirring events. He believed that the world is round and he worked out the idea that he could reach India by sailing westward. From maps and globes

he judged the world much smaller than it really is, and that India is about where North America is. What a happy mistake!5

Portugal refused to help Columbus, and he left for Spain. Here for eight years he tried to secure assistance (1484-92). Finally he gave up and started for France. One day he stopped at a convent and told his story



CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS

to the keeper, or prior. The prior begged Columbus to wait while he hastened to Queen Isabella to ask for help. He won a great victory for Columbus and America, for the Queen pledged her jewels, if needed, to fit out vessels for the voyage.

12. His first voyage across the Atlantic. Columbus was happy, but to his sailors this journey was a voyage of death. On August 3, 1492, with the prior's blessing, Columbus set sail with three small ships. He rested at the Canary Islands and then sailed westward for over a month. Each day the sailors grew more downhearted. They feared the trade winds would never carry them back, and worst of all, that faithful friend, the compass, began to vary.6

Encouraged by signs of land, Columbus held on his way, and on October 12, the shores of the New World broke on his sight. He took possession of San Salvador, one of the Bahama Islands, in grand style. He made explorations, reaching the coast of Cuba and Haiti. But he was badly disappointed in finding no rich cities. He gathered specimens, even natives, to show his monarchs. He named the natives Indians, because he was certain he had discovered parts of India. He reached home, told his story to the King and Queen, and showed his specimens to their admiring eyes.

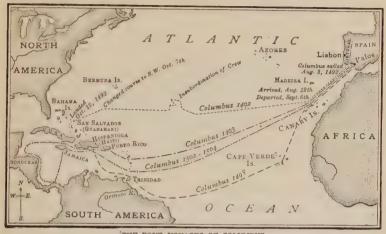
13. Disappointment of Columbus. Now the people wanted Columbus to hurry: Over fifteen hundred men crowded his seventeen ships for another voyage. On the first voyage he had been forced to take men from the Spanish jails, but now Spanish grandees eager for the voyage pledged their wealth that they might go.



THE LANDING OF COLUMBUS

This voyage so happily begun (1493) brought only the discovery of Jamaica and Porto Rico. A third brought him back in chains,⁷ but he had seen South America.

Columbus made his fourth and last voyage in 1502 and died four years afterward. Neither he nor anyone else



THE FOUR VOYAGES OF COLUMBUS

then knew that he had seen a new world. The way to India and her treasures still filled the minds of men.

OTHER NATIONS TRY THEIR FORTUNES

14. England takes the lead (1497). The news of Columbus' great deed stirred all Europe. England sent John Cabot, a man from Venice, to find a western route to India. He reached North America in the neighborhood of Nova Scotia or Labrador. The next year, with his son Sebastian, Cabot is supposed to have sailed farther south. Thus it was that England laid claim to all North America.

15. The Portuguese turn west. The king of Spain hurried a messenger to tell the pope what Columbus had done. The pope drew a line from pole to pole, 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Isles. This ran through eastern

South America. He declared all the new lands discovered east of this line should belong to Portugal and all west of it to Spain. This division seemed to shut England and Prance out in the cold!

Portugal was still busy with India (§10), but Americus Vespucius, an Italian sailing first in the employ of Spain and then of Portugal, touched South America. He wrote several letters about his discoveries, calling the land a "new world." The geographers of that day accordingly applied his name to South America and later to the whole New World.8

SPAIN LEADS IN EXPLORATION

16. Spanish discoveries. In the same year (1513) Ponce de Leon explored Florida and Balboa crossed the Isthmus of Panama and discovered the Pacific Ocean. The king of Spain sent Magellan with five small vessels to explore the coasts of South America (1519). He sailed through the strait that bears his name and up the western coast. Then he struck westward and reached the



MAGELLAN AND DRAKE'S VOYAGES AROUND THE WORLD

Ladrones with his sailors half starved. He was killed in the Philippines, but one of his ships made her way by the Cape of Good Hope to Spain. Magellan had proved that India could be reached by sailing westward. Just 377



THE AZTEC CITY OF MEXICO

years after his ships touched their shores Manila surrendered to Dewey and the Philippines were ours (§576).

17. Cortez conquers Mexico. While Magellan was sailing around the globe, Cortez was conquering one of the richest cities in the world (1519-21). What a sight met his eyes! A city built over a lake, where canals took the place of streets, and canoes carried people from place to place. Three great roads built of solid stonework ran to the center. Here stood a wonderful temple whose top could be reached by 114 great stone steps running around the outside. The people in Mexico were called Aztecs. Over sixty thousand of them, dressed in cotton clothes, lived in this city. Cortez set up Spanish rule, and Mexico turned millions upon millions of money into the lap of Spain. Pizarro found Peru even richer than Mexico (1532). But in the quarrel over these riches he was killed.

18. Spain disappointed. De Soto, comrade of Pizarro in Peru, but later governor of Cuba, set out for Florida

with a large force (1539). He sought rich cities and was cruel to the Indians for not finding them for him. He



DE SOTO DISCOVERS THE MIGHTY MISSISSIPPI

saw the Mississippi (1541) but disappointed, he grew sick, died, and was buried beneath its muddy waters. 10

Before the fate of De Soto was known, Coronado marched gaily forth from Mexico to find the wonderful "Cities of Cibola." He, too,

was disappointed. He saw only a few Indian pueblos and hundreds of "crook-backed cows." He was the first white man to behold the beauty and grandeur of the Grand Canyon of the Colorado. But he was searching for gold. The gold, we know, was there, but Coronado did not find it. Not even the exploration of California (1542) could satisfy Spain's call for gold.

rg. Ill effects on Spain of the gold of South America. With the exception of the settlement of St. Augustine in Florida (1565) and of Santa Fe in New Mexico (1582), Spain gave most of her early efforts to gathering wealth from Mexico and South America. The gold and silver of these regions made Spain for nearly one hundred years the greatest power in Europe but it hurt her in the end. She built the Armada and tried to conquer England. Her failure was a terrible blow to her power. Then, too, the Spanish people could not see why they should work with the riches of the New World flowing in upon them.

They allowed their industries to perish and bought goods made in the countries of Northern Europe. Spain became poorer and weaker.

20. The Spanish methods of conquest. When the Spaniards conquered a country like Mexico, they were cruel to those who opposed them. But they did not try to kill all the natives. Instead they converted them, reduced them to slavery, and some they married. Thus the natives in many cases mixed with the Spaniards. This is why so many of the people of Spanish-America are of Indian blood or of mixed Spanish and Indian blood. How different it was in the case of the United States! There the native Indians were pushed ahead of the settlers and at last were gathered together and made to live in certain districts reserved for them. There was no intermarriage of Indian and white. The result is that most of our population today is of European origin.

FRANCE A RIVAL OF SPAIN

- 21. Early French efforts. The king of France did not like to be shut out of the New World by the pope (§15).¹² Verrazano, sailing under the French flag, stopped, it is said, to admire New York Bay (1524). Ten years later, Cartier sailed up the St. Lawrence to an Indian town which he named Mont Real (Montreal). He thought he was on his way to China.
- 22. French Huguenots seek a home. The flame of the Protestant Revolution swept over Europe. It spread to nearly all countries. Before 1500 nearly all European nations were Roman Catholic. After the Reformation they were divided into quarreling sects. France was torn by religious quarrels, and although her king was a Catholic, he gave permission to the Huguenots,

or French Protestants, to plant a colony in South Carolina (1562). This failed, and they tried once more at Port Royal on the Saint John's in Florida. But the Spanish governor at St. Augustine (§19) destroyed this last attempt of the French to plant a colony so far south.¹³

ENGLAND SPAIN'S RIVAL, TOO

23. Commercial rivalry at first. For nearly a century England had done little to follow up Cabot's voyages (§14). She, too, had had her share of religious troubles. In Elizabeth's reign England and Spain were drifting toward war. Among England's most daring sailors was Drake. The Spaniards called him the "Dragon." He pounced upon them everywhere. Finally he sailed into the Pacific to rob their treasure ships. He seized millions upon millions of gold, spent the winter in California



SIR FRANCIS DRAKE

(New Albion), sailed west and reached home (1580), having circled the globe. England was ablaze with excitement over Drake's return with the Spanish gold. The queen gave him the grand title of "Sir."

24. Raleigh points out a wiser way. Sir Humphrey Gilbert was given a charter for trade and settlement in America. He was lost on a homeward voyage. His rights fell to Sir Walter Raleigh, one of the bravest and wisest of

the queen's friends. He told the queen a better way to beat the Spaniard was to plant colonies. She was

pleased with reports from America and named a part of it Virginia. Raleigh sent out two colonies. They

located on the coast of North Carolina. The first did not thrive and the other became the "lost colony." No trace of it was ever found.

25. Results of Raleigh's efforts. Raleigh's money was now about gone. But he did not lose heart. He declared that "he would live to see the day when Virginia would be a nation." The settlers had taken back to England a plant called tobacco, which was soon to be the foundation of Virginia's prosperity. With



SIR WALTER RALEIGH

them also went corn and potatoes, two products which have proved of greater value to mankind than all the gold and silver Spain has dug from the mines of the New World.

26. The defeat of the great Spanish Armada (1588). Raleigh's second colony was neglected because England had kept every man at home to fight against the fleet of ships and army of soldiers sent by Spain to attack her. The Spaniards were the bravest of soldiers, and in all Europe they were the greatest ship builders. With 137 ships and 27,000 men the Armada set sail to conquer England. It sailed proudly up the English Channel. The English fleet of smaller and more nimble vessels swarmed out and boldly attacked it. The great Spanish ships, with hundreds of soldiers on board, made

easy marks for English gunners. A terrific storm came to help the English. The loss of life was awful. Less



THE SPANISH ARMADA

than half of the "Invincible Armada" ever reached Spain again. From now on we may mark the decline of Spain. English sailors grew bolder and the English government more courageous in colony planting.

SUGGESTED READINGS

References for teachers: Fiske, Discovery of America, II; Bassett, Short History of the United States, chap. ii; Becker, Beginnings of the American People, 1-36; Hart, American History Told by Contemporaries, I, chaps. i-iv; Thwaites, Colonies, 20-24; Parkman, Pioneers of France.

References for pupils: Hale, Stories of Discovery, 1-106; Mace-Tanner, Old Europe and Young America, 221-315; Mace, Stories of Heroism, 1-54; McMurry, Pioneers on Land and Sea, 1-34, 161-225; Brooks, True Story of Columbus, 1-103, 112-122; Hart, Source Book, 1-23, 26-82; Hart, Source Reader, I, 4-16.

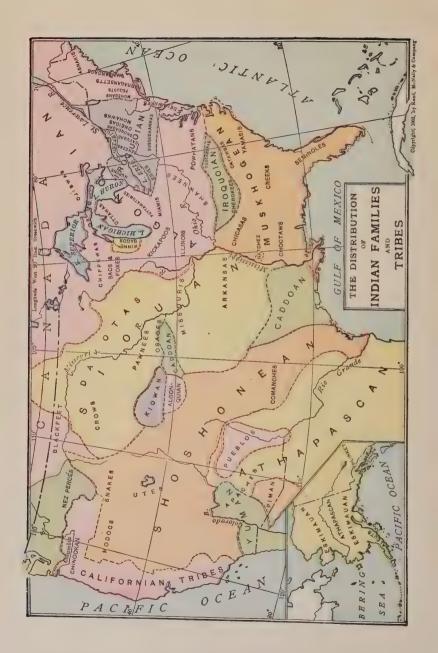
Fiction: Henty, Under Drake's Flag; Longfellow, Sir Humphrey

Gilbert.

PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. Write what you see in a play battle. 2. Go with Drake around the world and write letters telling what took place. 3. Describe the scene when Raleigh first attracted the attention of Queen Elizabeth.





CHAPTER II

THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE OF EARLY AMERICA

NATURAL ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES IN SETTLING NORTH AMERICA

27. The eastern part of North America. The Atlantic coast with its many harbors offered friendly protection to settlers. The country from the coast to the mountains gave the settlers rich soil for crops, plenty of wood and lumber for their homes, choice game for food, and skins for clothes. This region would have been a paradise for the poor man of Europe (§2) had it not been for the fevers along the coast and for the Indians in the forests.

The Appalachian Highland once formed a great barrier separating the East from the Mississippi Valley. The Hudson and the Mohawk valleys formed the easiest way into this region in early days. Another route was by the Potomac and the headwaters of the Ohio. Still another, though less known, was the James River and the Great Kanawha. A more famous route ran from the headwaters of the Yadkin through Cumberland Gap. Any good map will show the great number of rivers taking their rise in these highlands and dropping rapidly to the sea. These rivers later furnished the settlers with water power for driving mills.

28. The heart of North America. We may reach the heart of North America by either the Mississippi or the St. Lawrence. The French were long-headed enough to see that the nation holding this region would control the continent. This region has become the granary of the world.

Northwest of the Ohio River, west and southwest of the Mississippi as far as Mexico, are vast treeless regions called prairies. Here roved countless herds of buffaloes.

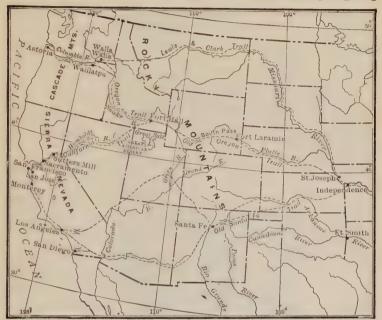
From the headwaters of the Mississippi and the Ohio to the headwaters of the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence is only a short distance. The Indians made trails from one to the other, carrying their canoes and fur packs.

29. The Rocky Mountains and western highlands. Many miles west of the Mississippi rises the gigantic system of highlands called the Rocky Mountains. This region is higher than the Appalachian (§27) and broader, reaching three hundred miles in places. There are very few passes where man may break a road to the westward.

Once across the Rockies we come to a region extending from Canada to Mexico. This highland area has little rainfall. Here, as well as in the Rocky Mountains, the Indian found his match in the great grizzly bear and in the so-called Rocky Mountain sheep. This region is still their home. Here, too, the white man finds pasturage for thousands of sheep and cattle. In these two regions lay hidden from the native vast stores of gold and silver and of copper and lead.

- 30. The Pacific Coast region. A range of mountains still blocks man's way to the Pacific. Once across, he finds himself in a country not so extensive as were the lands farther east but far more charming as to climate.
- 31. The Oregon and Santa Fe trails. The rivers, we have seen, were the most important roadways before the white man came. The Indian, however, frequently aided by the buffalo, had trails leading from one Indian town to another. Crossing half the continent to the Pacific were two trails of great historic interest, the Oregon and the Santa Fe trails. From the place where St. Louis

now stands the two routes were the same to the western part of Missouri. Here they separated: the Oregon going



EARLY TRAILS LEADING TO THE PACIFIC COAST

in a northwest direction to the Columbia River and the Santa Fe in a southwest direction to Santa Fe. Pitching almost directly south to the Mexican border, it then turns directly west toward San Diego on the Pacific.

HOW THE INDIAN HELPED AND HINDERED THE SETTLERS

32. Different ways of doing things. The Indian was far behind white men in many ways: he wore the skins of buffalo, bear, deer, and beaver; these were also used in building and furnishing his wigwam or tent. He built his fire in the wigwam or in the open. He found it hard to keep warm in winter and cool in summer. He

armed himself with bow and arrow, spear and tomahawk.

The tomahawk was only a rude stone ax. It seems clear



THE INDIAN TOWN OF POMEIOOC, VIRGINIA

to us that the Indian needed many things to meet the white man as an equal.

33. What they both wanted. The Indian really had two things wanted by the white man: land and furs. The two races did not understand each other's point of view about land. The

Indian looked upon it only as a hunting ground. When game grew scarce in one place, he moved to another. The forests were useful to him as a hiding place for his game. But the white man settled down. He made farms, built villages and cities, and to do this he had to cut down the forests. When the forests were gone, both the game and the Indians had to leave.

The Indian had no ideas of private property. Large sections of the country were regarded as the hunting grounds of certain tribes, but the individual Indian owned

no land. The white settler claimed the land as his own property and insisted that the Indian stay off. This difference led to quarrels and war.

The fur trade was their one great tie. But the Indian had no idea of the value of his furs. Hence the white man's greed and the Indian's suspicion led to quarrels. The Dutch in New York won the Indians' confidence, but most of the English settlers did not. The Frenchmen were their great friends. They hunted, trapped, and lived together. They shared each other's campfires as boon companions. The Indians and French married and raised half-breed children. The Spaniards mixed with the Indians but were cruel to them and generally treated them as slaves (§20).

- 34. Imperfect organization makes Indian opposition weak. The great Indian families and their tribes may be seen on the map (opp. p. 17). The families were sometimes hostile, and the tribes of a family were often at war. With the exception of the half-civilized Incas in Peru and the Aztecs in Mexico, the most famous "nation" was the Iroquois 15 in central New York. Its members had formed an imperfect confederacy and could put in battle several hundred of the fiercest warriors. Had the Indians been united, it would have gone much harder with the early settlers in this country.
- 35. The warrior and the worker. The man was a warrior and a hunter. He painted his body to make himself look terrible to his enemy. He was a good friend but a cruel foe. He loved to fight from ambush and to frighten his enemy by loud shouting to give the idea of great numbers. He took fiendish pleasure in torturing prisoners. If the battle did not go in his favor, he was easily discouraged and ran away.

The woman was a worker and a drudge. While the hunter was bringing in the supply of meat or away



TECUMSEH, CHIEF OF THE SHAWNEES

on some warlike expedition, the woman was busy cooking, working around the wigwam and keeping the patch of corn, beans, and squash free from weeds. She gathered the firewood and when the tribe moved, carried the tent poles to the new grounds. Yet the squaw as a mother often had great influence over her husband.

Tecumseh was probably the greatest Indian

about whom we know. He was a fine-looking man. He had statesmanlike ideas, was an orator of the first rank, and a warrior that knew no fear. He denounced the massacre of prisoners.

SUGGESTED READINGS

References for teachers: Bassett, Short History of the United States, chap. i; Thwaites, Colonies, 1-19; Fisher, Colonial Era, chaps. i-ii.

References for pupils: Hart, Source Book, 23-26; Hart, Source

Reader, I, 116-117, 121-125.

Fiction: Monroe, Flamingo Feather; Eastman, Indian Boyhood; Longfellow, Hiawatha.

PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. Resolved that Indian boys had a better time than boys in the colonies. 2. Climb to the top of the stone temple in Mexico and write about the Aztecs you see. 3. Imagine yourself sitting at the "council fire" of the Five Nations and write what you hear.

CHAPTER III

THE SOUTHERN COLONIES

MAKING EXPERIMENTS

36. England stirs interest in Virginia. Raleigh had failed (§24). Two companies were given charters allowing them to make settlements in Virginia: the Plymouth

in north Virginia, and the London in south Virginia. The king promised the settlers that they should be Englishmen, "as if they had been abiding and born within the realm of England." But he took care to give them little power to govern themselves.

English people hesitated to settle in America where so many things



were new and strange. Besides, was not Spain jealously watching their every movement for a settlement?¹⁶ But England was in need of an outlet for her laboring people (§2), who were finding it difficult to get work at home. Therefore sermons were preached, pamphlets were

printed, and poems were written, sounding the praises

of Virginia.

37. Jamestown settled (1607). The wish to get rich quickly and return to England brought 105 settlers to Jamestown in the spring of 1607. They did not come to work but to find gold. Excitement ran high. Their imaginations "worked overtime": a few miles inland might be the Pacific Ocean, which Drake had crossed, and there, too, might be another Peru. Among the mountains were streams whose waters might flow over golden sands, and mines whose riches no man could count. Men could not work in the midst of such prospects.

38. John Smith comes to the front. John Smith,¹⁷ the strongest man in the colony, now took charge. He compelled idlers to work, traded with the Indians for food, and had the cabins repaired. He wrote the London Company to send no more such men, but to send "carpenters, husbandmen, gardeners, fishermen, blacksmiths, masons, and diggers of trees" roots." The people grew more contented, and John Smith held the colony together until more settlers



THE SITE OF JAMESTOWN

came. A new charter (1609) gave new boundaries to south Virginia (see map) and greater power to the company.

TRVERE lation of luch occur-

rences and accidents of noateas.

hath hapned in Virginia fince the first planting of that Collony, which is now resident in the South part thereof, till the last returne from

thence.

Written by Captaine Smith one of the faid Collony, to a worthipfull friend of his in England.



LONDON

Printed for *John Tappe*, and areto bee folde at the Greyhound in Paules Church yard by W.W. 39. Out of death comes life. John Smith had to go to England; idleness and disorder broke out, and the



TERRITORY CLAIMED BY VIRGINIA UNDER THE CHARTER OF 1609

"starving time" resulted. Over four hundred settlers went to their graves, and only sixty were left to tell the tale (1610). Fortunately Lord Delaware arrived with supplies just as they were leaving for England.

In the spring of 1611 three hundred more settlers arrived, and with them came the man to control them, Sir Thomas Dale. He was a fearless soldier who ruled by military law. He abolished the "common storehouse" and gave each man a few acres to till. The effect was magical. Even idlers went to work.

GETTING A FOOTHOLD

40. Tobacco makes Virginia prosperous. The settlers did not prosper at first. They began making things for

the English market which could be produced cheaper in the old home. Happily John Rolfe raised a crop of tobacco and sold it for a good price (1612). The settlers took up tobacco-raising with enthusiasm. Governor Dale had to declare that no man should plant tobacco until he had first put two acres in grain. In 1619 Virginia sent 20,000 pounds of tobacco to England, and doubled the amount the next year. On both banks of the James River tobacco plantations sprang up, and Jamestown became a queer-looking village. It was a series of tobacco farms with the James River as its main street.

41. An important date in American history (1619). The year 1619 not only marks (1) the first great crop of tobacco, but (2) the beginning of representative government in America, (3) the sending of a large number of maidens to be wives of the settlers, thus making Virginia homes more cheerful and comfortable, and (4) the landing of a Dutch trading vessel with twenty slaves. Thus

slavery and representative government had their beginning in the same year.

The London Company sent over Governor Yeardley to call a repre-



THE LANDING OF THE YOUNG WOMEN ON VIRGINIA'S SHORES

sentative assembly. Two men were elected from each plantation or neighborhood. They formed what the

Virginians loved to call a House of Burgesses. They met in the little church. The governor and his council, keeping their hats on, took the front seats. The burgesses took seats behind them. The meeting was opened with prayer by the clergyman. Each man took an oath to be loyal to the king. A speaker, a clerk, and a sergeant were elected and took seats facing the assembly. This house served as a training school for Virginians, and when the Revolution broke out, no other colony in America furnished so many great men.¹⁸

- 42. Contentment grows. Settlers now came to stay because work was plenty. Laborers were in demand for tobacco-raising and came to Virginia in large numbers. For a long time they largely outnumbered the slaves. There were only sixteen hundred people in the colony in 1624, although more than seven thousand had been sent over from England. Many of them had died, many had returned home, but nearly four hundred had been killed by the Indians in the massacre (1622). Virginia had a hard time getting started.
- 43. The Company loses its charter. The London Company had fallen into progressive hands. King James opposed this and took advantage of the Indian massacre to take away its charter. It was a battle between the "divine right" of the king to do what he pleased and the Company to do what was best for Virginia. The king won. But the Company had made Virginia a barrier against the Spaniard and in so doing had laid the foundation for representative government.

VIRGINIA THE KING'S COLONY

44. Trouble arises in England. A new party called the Puritan party was arising in England. Parliament was

becoming Puritan (§61) and quarreled with the king over taxes and religion. Down to 1641 more than one thousand Puritans migrated to Virginia to escape the king's persecution. In 1642 one of the king's men, Berkeley, became governor of Virginia. Berkeley and the burgesses banished the Puritans. Most of them went to Maryland (§52).

The Puritans finally won out in England and beheaded Charles I. The burgesses immediately invited his son. Charles II. to Virginia, but he did not come. The leader of the Puritans, Cromwell, established a kindly rule in Virginia. He gave the colony free government, free trade, and free religion. From England came groups of Cavaliers, friends of the king, seeking homes in America. The Virginians gave them a hearty welcome, for many of them were well-to-do, refined, and well educated. They gave a higher tone to Virginian society.

45. Virginia again in the king's hands. While the Puritans and Cavaliers were having trouble, Virginia had

been growing by leaps and bounds. By 1640 its people numbered about fifteen thousand and by 1660 forty thousand. Only three hundred were negro slaves. Up Chesapeake Bay and its rivers pushed the planters with their fields of tobacco and grain.

When England, tired of Puritan rule, called Charles II to be king (1660), the Cavaliers in England and Virginia were wild with joy. Berkeley came to the governor's



A CAVALIER

chair again and showed that he had learned nothing from his experience. He kept the House of Burgesses, for seventeen years without election, took the right to vote from all except landholders, and persecuted Baptists,



Quakers, and all others who refused to attend the English church.¹⁹

46. Bacon's Rebellion (1676). Berkeley's time of punishment was at hand. The Indians suddenly fell upon the Virginians and killed some of them. Berkeley would do nothing for fear of losing the Indian fur trade in which he shared. Nathaniel Bacon quickly raised a band of

riflemen and marched against the Indians. Berkeley declared him a traitor for fighting without his permission. Bacon returned, drove Berkeley from Jamestown, and burned the town. At the height of his success Bacon died, and Berkeley took pleasure in hanging "rebel" leaders. King Charles declared that "the old fool has put to death more people in that naked country than I have for the death of my father." One of the burgesses said: "If we had let him alone, he would have hanged half the country." The king called Berkeley back to England, and sent out a new governor. Virginia never forgot Bacon's rebellion.

MARYLAND A NEW KIND OF COLONY

47. A home for Catholics and Protestants (1634). For over one hundred years in England Roman Catholics and Protestants had persecuted each other. George Calvert, Lord Baltimore, was a Roman Catholic. He was greatly beloved by the English king. Baltimore decided to find a home for his people in America. King Charles I gave him Maryland, named in honor of Queen Henrietta Maria.

Before the colony was ready, Baltimore died. Following an old European custom, his oldest son, Cecil, fell heir to his titles and his property (§5). He immediately sent out a colony of over two hundred settlers. They settled at St. Mary's on the north bank of the Potomac, near

its mouth. The majority of them were Protestants.

48. A happy colony. The Indians were friendly and opened their wigwams to the settlers. They taught the men how to hunt the deer and the turkey, and the women how to bake bread before an open fire. Fortune smiled on St. Mary's. She had no starving time (§39), and no Indian massacre (§42). She had a representative assembly. Her people



GEORGE CALVERT

opened up trade with their neighbors and with far-away New England. They stocked their farms with cows, hogs, and sheep from England. They raised good crops, and were very happy in their homes in the New World. 49. Maryland an unusual colony. Religious toleration, a new thing in the world, was soon established in Maryland



by Lord Baltimore, who was owner or proprietor of the colony. He not only owned the land, but appointed the governors, vetoed the laws made in the colony, and named the judges. Only the king could do these things in England. Baltimore was almost a king in Maryland.

50. How tobacco-raising spoiled a part of Baltimore's plan. Baltimore had the right to grant titles of nobility. He planned to have a number of great estates in Maryland. On these were

to live men with grand titles in splendid manor houses, after the style of old Europe (§5). On these estates, too, were to live the laborers in their cabins. They were to work for the lord of the manor. But when the people came to Maryland, they found it much easier and far better to raise their own tobacco and be their own masters. The great estates then had to be broken up into smaller tobacco plantations.

51. A representative assembly and toleration. The very next year after the birth of the colony a representative assembly was established (1635). This assembly, called the House of Burgesses, worked well. One of its most important laws was the Act of Toleration (1649). This act declared that "no person or persons whatsoever



THE SETTLEMENT OF ST. MARY'S BY CALVERT



within this province, professing to believe in Jesus Christ, shall from henceforth be any ways troubled."

- 52. Trouble from Virginia. William Claiborne, living in Virginia, claimed Kent Island in the Chesapeake. He refused to obey Maryland's authority, and she drove him out. The Puritans, driven from Virginia, had crossed to Maryland (§44).²⁰ When Cromwell, the great Puritan general, came to be head of the government in England, Claiborne and the Puritans joined forces and captured St. Mary's. But Cromwell knew how to be just as well as stern. He restored Baltimore's authority on his promising toleration forever.
- 53. Maryland prosperous. The kindly climate, the rich soil, freedom from Indian troubles, and religious toleration attracted settlers. The great majority of them were Protestants and welcomed the revolution which put William and Mary on the throne of England (1688).²¹ In 1720 was founded, well up on Chesapeake Bay, the chief city of the colony, Baltimore. By the time of the Revolution it was a most prosperous city.

THE TWO CAROLINAS THE HOME OF MANY KINDS OF PEOPLE

54. North and South Carolina. We have already seen settlers migrating from Virginia to Maryland (§44). Shortly afterwards some went to North Carolina. The House of Burgesses gave other settlers land grants on Albemarle Sound (1653). Some New Englanders tried to occupy the region around the mouth of Cape Fear River but had to give it up.

These settlements were made, not by England, but by the colonists. But the king gave the Carolinas to eight of his favorites. These nobles had a constitution ²²

drawn up for Carolina which planned to have classes of people from the laborer up to lords. The people settling



THE CAROLINA AND GEORGIA COLONIES

in the Carolinas paid no attention to it and went on making settlements in their own way. Thus there failed another effort to establish feudalism in the southern colonies (§50).

55. Settlement of Charleston (1670). The pro-

prietors hurried a colony over to settle "Charles Town" at the union of the Cooper and Ashley rivers. Later the colony, finding a better location, moved Charleston to its present place. The colonists built a fort and got ready for the Spaniards (§36). They did not have to wait long, but the Spaniards, when they saw the Carolinians were ready for them, returned without striking a single blow. Hence the Carolinas were a barrier in holding back the Spaniard (§24).

56. The coming of many kinds of people. At first the Carolinas promised to be like Virginia and Maryland, settled by English churchmen only. But presently came the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, driven to America by laws which made it hard to earn a living in Ireland. The Quakers settled in large numbers, especially in North Carolina. A few Swiss and Germans settled along the sea, and latest of all came the Scotch Highlanders,

who were banished for being true to the Young Pretender. the grandson of James II (§78).23 But the most interesting of all the people migrating to the Carolinas were the French Huguenots (§22).24

57. Occupations and government. The Carolinas were alike in that the early settlers in both colonies raised tobacco. This brought them ready money from England. North Carolina was made up mostly of small, independent farmers. Many raised wheat and corn and made pitch. tar, and turpentine from the great forests of pine. They did not have many slaves.

At first South Carolina centered around Charleston. Her planters lived in the city in the winter and upon their plantations in the summer. They owned many slaves. Rice was introduced and was the leading product of the colony for a long time. Indigo, too, found a place on some of the Carolina plantations. Both articles together with tobacco brought English trade to Charleston.



The proprietors and the people did not get on well together. The proprietors were aristocratic, and the people were democratic. They tried several experiments. Albemarle and Charleston had separate governors. In



JAMES EDWARD OGLETHORPE

1691 the two were united under one governor. But trouble continued, and the proprietors sold out to the king (1729). Again the two were divided and remained royal colonies down to the Revolution.

GEORGIA THE REAL BARRIER

58. Oglethorpe plants a new kind of colony. James Oglethorpe was the founder of Georgia (1732). He was moved to this act by the con-

dition of the poor debtors of England. A man who could not pay his debts was thrown in jail. There he might stay until he died. This was not so very long usually, for the jails were foul places and overrun with vermin. Oglethorpe planned to take the fittest of these debtors to some colony where they might get a new start in life.

Still another purpose influenced Oglethorpe. The Spaniards were now becoming excited over the growth of the Carolinas. The time had come to push "Raleigh's barrier" farther south (§24). Patriotic Englishmen now came forward, and by the aid of Parliament they raised \$500,000 to help the new colony.

59. Savannah settled (1733). Oglethorpe selected thirty-five families from among the great number who

wanted to go. Charleston gave them a hearty welcome. They finally selected a place near the mouth of the Savannah River. More settlers came, and among them three famous men: Charles Wesley, who became a great hymn writer; John Wesley, a missionary to the Indians and afterwards a great religious leader, and George Whitefield, one of the most eloquent preachers who ever came to America.

There soon came to the new colony Salzburgers from Austria, Moravians from Germany, Protestant Highlanders, Swiss, and Jews. These people were all allowed to practice their own religion.

60. Frederica Georgia's barrier (1736). Frederica was settled on an island well down the coast. It was well fortified. The Spaniards attacked it only once, and then Oglethorpe beat them off and carried the war into Florida. Georgia was the last of the thirteen American colonies to be settled.

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References for pupils: Thwaites, Colonies, 64-95; Mace, Stories of Heroism, 54-61; Hart, Source Book, 11-14, 48-51, 71-73, 88-95, 108-109; Hart, Source Reader, I, 25-28, 98-104, 143, 175-177; Coffin, Old Times in the Colonies, 97-110.

Fiction: Johnston, To Have and To Hold, Audrey; Otis, Richard of

Jamestown.

PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. Attend the wedding of Pocahontas and write an account of it for a newspaper. 2. Write the story of the "White Aprons" in the story of Bacon and Berkeley. 3. Visit the southern colonies in 1740 and write in your diary what you see.

CHAPTER IV

NEW ENGLAND COLONIES

THE PILGRIM FATHERS

61. The rise of the Pilgrims and the Puritans. New England was at first a part of "Virginia" (§36), but the Plymouth Company had failed in its settlement on the banks of the Kennebec (1607). Captain John Smith explored and mapped the coast and named New England (1614). But a different kind of people was destined for her shores.

The Reformation caused mighty religious upheavals (§22). It divided Englishmen into Roman Catholics



and English church people. Some people in the English church wanted to change certain forms and ceremonies in that church. They wanted a purer church, they said. Hence they took the name "Puritan." Some of them broke away from the English church and formed independent congregations. They elected their own preachers, and were very democratic. These people were called Separatists. Most of the

Puritans, however, remained in the English church intending to purify and to reform it.

62. The Separatists turn Pilgrims. People in London stoned the Separatists, and the king's officers hurried their

leaders to jail. In the village of Scrooby a little congregation of Separatists worshiped. They resolved to fly to Holland, the land of dikes and windmills. Holland had just won its independence from



THE OLD CITY OF LEIDEN

Spain after a long war and most bitter persecutions. The Dutch had made themselves glorious by granting religious toleration.

The Pilgrims escaped to Amsterdam and then journeyed to Leiden. After a few years their children were marrying Dutchmen, and in a short time their children's children would become Hollanders. For this reason they decided to leave for America.

63. The voyage of the "Mayflower." Their pastor, the noble John Robinson, decided to stay in Holland to comfort those who could not go. One hundred and two sailed under the lead of Brewster, Bradford, and Myles Standish.²⁵ They planned to settle near the mouth of the Hudson (§84), but storms drove them to Cape Cod. Before landing the men signed the "Mayflower Compact" to make sure of an orderly government. They bound themselves to make "just and equal laws for the general good of the colony."

64. Plymouth settled (1620). The Pilgrims chose Plymouth Harbor for a home. They built huts for the people, for they were already in the midst of a cold winter



(December). They had been used to the gentler climate of England and Holland and had not yet learned

to build warm and comfortable houses. One-half of the little band were dead when spring came. But the Pilgrims had stout hearts, for not one of them returned with the "Mayflower" in the spring.

65. Relation to the Indians. The



THE "MAYFLOWER" ON ITS WAY TO AMERICA

Pilgrims were on good terms with the Indians. Each treated the other well. These dusky warriors taught the whites how to capture the wild animals and showed them where fish were most abundant. They taught them how to raise corn on poor soil by putting a fish in each hill as fertilizer. Massasoit, a neighboring chief, came with friendly greetings.

66. The first Thanksgiving Day. Every man had to till the soil and raise his crop of corn, wheat, rye, and peas. After gathering their first harvest, they decided to celebrate by giving thanks to a kindly Providence for watching over them and for filling their common storehouse. The Indians joined with them, enjoying their own pastimes. Repeated from year to year, this custom has grown into a great national Thanksgiving.

67. Growth of the colony. The colony grew slowly. Several towns sprang up, but when Plymouth joined the

New England Confederation (1643) there were not over three thousand people in the whole colony. The Pilgrims formed the most democratic colony in North America. They had no church officers except those elected by themselves. The same was true in government. They debated all questions in town meeting, and then voted on them. Above all, the Pilgrim Fathers gave to their children a



FURNITURE BROUGHT OVER ON THE "MAYFLOWER"

noble example of manliness, of uprightness and of trust in God.

In 1920 Massachusetts and the whole country celebrated the three hundredth anni-

versary of the "Landing of the Pilgrim Fathers."

THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY

68. Troubles between king and Parliament. The English Parliament, composed largely of Puritans (§44), refused Charles I money until he made certain reforms. Charles had to have money and forced rich men to give it to him. This was not legal, and Parliament compelled him to sign the Petition of Right (1628).²⁶ He dismissed Parliament, resolved never to call another. Charles now put in force harsh laws against the Puritans.²⁷ He threw some of their great leaders into prison, drove many of their ministers from the churches, and persecuted those who would not attend the Church of England.

69. The "Great Migration." Some of the Puritan leaders decided to try their fortunes in America. They obtained a charter from Charles I for the Massachusetts Bay Company (1629). Eleven vessels with over seven hundred emigrants led by John Winthrop, sailed for the land of promise (1630). More than two thousand left for Massachusetts within a year, and more than twenty-five thousand migrated before the outbreak of the Puritan Revolution (1641). The Puritans had more property than

the Pilgrims. Many were well-to-do country gentlemen who owned land in England. Some, too, had been to college

at Cambridge.

70. First settlements and governments. Salem had been settled by John Endicott (1628). Winthrop settled Boston, and it soon grew into the leading town as the seat of government. Other towns were soon settled, such as Newtown, afterwards changed to Cambridge, Watertown,



JOHN WINTHROP

Roxbury, Lynn, and Dorchester. These Puritans were Congregationalists. Each little band brought its minister and soon formed a town which controlled its own affairs. Over all these towns, by the charter which Winthrop had brought to America, a government was established. The officers were the governor and the assistants who advised him.

71. Conservative and progressive parties. Among the Puritans some were conservative and some progressive.

The progressives demanded that the towns send representatives to the general assembly. Representatives were,



THE SETTLEMENTS ALONG THE NEW ENGLAND COAST

therefore, elected to advise the governor and assistants (1634). The governor and his assistants were made into an upper house, while the representatives from the towns sat as a lower and more democratic house. This change in government was made by the colony itself without advice or orders from England.

The progressives did not always have their own way. They called for a written constitution as early as 1635 but did not get the Body of Liberties until 1641.

Roger Williams had already denounced the law compelling people to attend church. He was arrested, tried, and ordered back to England. He did not go but fled to Rhode Island. Mrs. Anne Hutchinson preached against a "covenant of works." She, too, was banished.²³ During these discussions in Massachusetts, Thomas

Hooker led a company of one hundred people to the Connecticut. Valley, where they found free opportunity. Hooker was progressive and Winthrop conservative. They differed but did not quarrel.

OUTSIDE DANGER THREATENS

72. The New England Confederation (1643). The dangers from the Indian, the Dutch (§§84-89), and the mother country led the New Englanders to form a union. Four colonies were admitted; Rhode Island was left out. Two delegates from each colony met each year to look after the common business. Massachusetts, being the largest colony, had the most influence. The colonists never forgot the lessons of this confederation.

73. The Puritan Revolution in England (1641-60).

We saw Charles I taking things into his own hands (§68): he collected money without the consent of Parliament and forced the English church upon Scotland. The Scots sent an army against him. Charles was compelled to call the Long Parliament (1641). Parliament, in the hands of Puritans, made reforms and called Cromwell to organize the army. They defeated and beheaded the king (§44). Cromwell was now the head



CHARLES I KING OF ENGLANI

of the government. He showed the world what the common man can do. Americans never forgot the lesson of his rule.

74. The Quakers invade Massachusetts (1656). Born in the stormy times of Cromwell, the Quakers carried their religion where it was not wanted. Massachusetts wanted only Puritans, and when Quakers came, she hanged four of them. But mutterings of rebellion were heard and, much to the disgust of many old-fashioned Puritans, the judges set other Quakers free. Rhode Island gave the Quakers hearty welcome.

75. Religious toleration. It seems strange to us that the Puritans, who had left their native land on account of religious troubles, would not let the Quakers stay in Massachusetts. After all it was not so very strange. For centuries all Europe believed that all people ought to belong to the same church. If anyone tried to start a new church he was looked upon as a very dangerous person, just as we regard traitors today. It was thought to be just as much the business of the government to protect the people from those who wanted to start new churches as it was to protect them from a foreign enemy.

When the Protestant Revolution came people had not changed their minds very much on this point (§22). Most of the new Protestant churches were not tolerant. They still believed in having one church. The Puritans in America tried to make others obey that rule. If this were not done, the Puritans felt that they could never have the kind of religious and moral influences they wanted. Men only slowly learned that they must tolerate differences in church and religion. By 1791 the desire for toleration had gained so much that the very first amendment to the Constitution was made to declare that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

76. King Philip's struggle (1675). After the defeat of the Pequots in Connecticut (1637) the Indians remained quiet. Philip succeeded the friendly Massasoit, and he saw he must destroy the whites or his hunting grounds would be no more. He fought two years, killed one-tenth of New England's soldiers, but was himself killed, and the Indian power was shattered.

77. Charles II and James II make trouble. English people had grown tired of the solemn faces, quiet Sundays, and the harsh rule of the Puritans. Shortly after Cromwell died they called Charles II to be king amid great rejoicing. He hated Puritans and sent certain commands to Massachusetts which were not obeyed. He finally took away the charter of this colony (1684). He

died suddenly, and James II made Sir Edmund Andros governor of New England, New York, and New Jersey. Andros ruled with a high hand, abolished New England town meetings, taxed the people without their consent, and threw men in jail without trial by jury.

78. The revolution in England and the fall of Andros (1688). James II was a bigger tyrant than Andros, and news came



THE REGION RULED BY SIR EDMUND ANDROS

that England had driven him from the throne (§53). The people of Boston rushed together and arrested some of the king's officers. Andros fled to the fort in the

harbor. Alarm guns sounded, and signal fires burned on Beacon Hill. A thousand soldiers gathered, and hundreds of men, led by a school teacher, swarmed in from



SIR EDMUND ANDROS

the country ready to fight. Andros surrendered, and William and Mary gave Massachusetts a new charter granting toleration to all sects (1691).²⁹

NEW HAMPSHIRE AND MAINE

79. Proprietary colonies. Mason and Gorges were given land between the Merrimac and Kennebec rivers. Dover had already been settled by some fishermen and fur traders when the owners sent out a colony to Portsmouth (1630). The grant was

divided: Mason took what is now New Hampshire, and Gorges the larger part and called it Maine. When William and Mary granted a charter to Massachusetts, they gave her control over these colonies. More and more, as they grew stronger, these outposts kept back both French and Indian.

CONNECTICUT AND NEW HAVEN

80. The beginnings of Connecticut. We have already seen the democratic Thomas Hooker leading his people from Massachusetts to the Connecticut Valley (1636) (§71). They plunged into the wilderness, carrying their

tools and arms and taking a goodly herd of cattle along with them. Out of this migration grew the towns of Hartford, Wethersfield, and Windsor. Hooker called the people together and preached them a democratic sermon. They set up a written constitution, which was the first of its kind in the world (1639).³⁰ They joined the New England Confederation as the colony of Connecticut (§72).

While Massachusetts was in an uproar over Anne Hutchinson (§71), a band of London Puritans landed in Boston. Eaton and Davenport were the leaders. These people were attracted to the region on the north shore of Long Island Sound. There they made a settlement and named it New Haven (1638). These people were among the strictest of the Puritans. They set up a government based on the Bible. As in Massachusetts, only church members could vote. Other settlements were made: Milford, Guilford, and Stamford. With



THE PILGRIMAGE TO THE CONNECTICUT VALLEY

New Haven these towns formed a union (1643) and joined the New England Confederation under the name of the New Haven colony (§72),

81. The two colonies united (1662). A charter was granted to Connecticut by the king. It continued the democratic government so happily begun. The people



THE CONNECTICUT AND NEW HAVEN COLONIES

liked it so well that they kept it until 1818. But the king did not like New Haven; two of the men who had condemned his father to death

were hiding in the colony. And so he joined New Haven to Connecticut as a punishment.

RHODE ISLAND THE MOST DEMOCRATIC COLONY

82. Origin of Rhode Island (1636). Driven from his home in winter, Roger Williams sought shelter with his good friend Massasoit (§71). "For fourteen weeks he was sorely tossed in a bitter season, not knowing what bread or bed did mean." In June he founded Providence as "a shelter for persons distressed in conscience." True to his teachings, Williams bought the land from the Indians and passed no law touching religious beliefs (§71). Other persons driven out of Massachusetts were welcomed by Williams to Providence, as he had named his refuge. Among them was Anne Hutchinson (§71). She was sent out of Massachusetts for holding meetings for women. In these meetings they found fault with the ministers. Others driven from Massachusetts settled the towns of Newport, Portsmouth, and Warwick.

83. Union under one charter (1644). Roger Williams had great influence with Parliament, since it was now

strongly Puritan (§73). He obtained a good charter, uniting the different towns and permitting them to govern themselves. The government under this charter was almost as liberal as that of a republic. When Charles II came to the throne he confirmed the charter (1662). So well satisfied were the people that they kept it until 1842.

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Fiction: Stowe, Mayflower; Austin, Myles Standish; Mrs. Hemans, The Landing of the Pilgrims; Longfellow, Courtship of Miles Standish;

Otis, Ruth of Boston.

PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

I. Write about the Pilgrims in their three homes. 2. Attend the first Thanksgiving celebration. Tell who was there and what each did. 3. Visit one of Mrs. Hutchinson's meetings and "report it" for the class.

CHAPTER V

THE MIDDLE COLONIES

THE STRUGGLE OF THE DUTCH TO PLANT A COLONY

84. Holland the home of religious freedom. Holland was not great in area nor in the number of its people. But Dutchmen were doing big things. They had driven the Spaniards out of their country, and their sailors were found on every sea. They invaded the East Indies, fought the British and the Portuguese, and even now hold some of the richest islands in the East.³¹ Their manufacturers were among the richest in the world. Holland was the home of religious toleration (§62), and there the Pilgrims



HENRY HUDSON IN THE "HALF MOON"

were still living (1610-20).

Dutch merchants sent Henry Hudson to search for a new water route to India. In the "Half Moon" he sailed up the river which now bears his name (1609).³² He noted the country's beauty, the richness

of the soil, and the great number of fur-bearing animals in its vast forests. Dutch merchants were quick to take advantage of Hudson's discovery. They built a few huts on Manhattan Island (1613) and a fort near Albany. They made lasting friends with the Iroquois (§33). This was a good beginning for the fur trade with the Indians.

85. The growth of the colony. Holland gave New Netherland to the Dutch West India Company. Settlers had no right to govern themselves, but were ruled by a governor and council appointed by the Company. The fur traders did not mind much. They pushed their way down the Delaware, across to Long Island, and to the Connecticut (§80). Governor Minuit bought Manhattan Island for less than one cent per acre! Today this is the most valuable land in America.

86. The patroon system (1629). Real settlers came in slowly. The Company tried to hurry up settlement by bringing in a part of the feudal system (§6). They gave the title of "patroon" and great tracts of land to any member of the Company bringing over fifty settlers. The patroon was to be lawmaker, governor, and judge. The settlers were not to hunt, fish, manufacture, or remove



A MANSION OF A PATROON ON THE FAMOUS VAN RENSSELAER ESTATE

from the plantation. They had to sell their products to the patroon and grind grain at his mill. This was the

first effort to plant feudal conditions in America. did not work well. Neither did other attempts (§§50, 54).

87. The Indian war. After the patroons had taken up their great estates, other settlers had to invade the hunting grounds of the Indians. Neither the settlers nor the red men liked this. An Indian war broke out. The



NEW NETHERLAND AND THE "FIVE NATIONS

people suffered a great many hardships, and finally demanded a share in the government. This was refused.

88. Demand for self-government. Peter Stuyvesant. the new governor, had been heartily welcomed by all (1647). But he

soon made himself unpopular by persecuting Baptists and Quakers, and by refusing to the people any real part in managing the affairs of the colony. They appealed to Holland, and the town of New Amsterdam was granted self-government. The town now had eight hundred people (1653).

The people objected to paying for a great wall³³ built by Stuyvesant to keep out the Indians. They came together and pronounced the governor a great tyrant. He dismissed them, declaring he obtained his right to govern from God and the Company. This statement showed the people that they could never hope to get representative government from Stuyvesant.

80. New Netherland surrenders (1664). Holland and England had become rivals on the sea. England cut off the Dutch trade from the colonies by the Navigation Acts (\$179). Terrific sea battles in the English Channel were fought between the Dutch and Cromwell's ships. Parliament made more laws against Dutch trade in the



THE DUTCH MOTHERS BEGGING STUYVESANT TO SURRENDER

time of Charles II, and war followed. English warships appeared before New Amsterdam, and Stuyvesant called upon the people to defend their colony. But they refused; they remembered his tyranny and the freer governments around them. Good Dutch mothers, with tears in their eyes, begged him to surrender. "Let it be so. I had rather be carried to my grave," said the brave old governor (1664).34

ENGLISH RULE IN NEW YORK

90. Meaning of the surrender. From Maine to the Carolinas the English now had one unbroken line of colonies. New Amsterdam was named New York, and Fort Orange was called Albany.³⁵ The settlers were disappointed, for they did not get a representative assembly



A VIEW OF THE CITY AND HARBOR OF NEW AMSTERDAM (NEW YORK), 1656

immediately, but they did get complete toleration in religious matters. In the terms of surrender the English made it very easy for the Dutch. No property was destroyed. They permitted Governor Stuyvesant to retire to his Bowery³⁶ or farm, and live out his days in peace. The King granted the colony to his brother, the Duke of York.

91. Progress toward representative government. The "Duke's Laws," made by a convention of the people, were in the right direction: election of town officers by landholders, trial by jury, and freedom of worship.

Andros (§77) was made governor and opposed an assembly, but it is said that William Penn urged the Duke of York to grant one. Governor Dongan brought the news of the Duke's consent (1682). The assembly was elected by landholders. It made a good set of laws, drew up a "Charter of Liberties," and sent them to the Duke for approval. But the Duke was now King James II (§77), and not only refused to consent to the Charter of Liberties but destroyed the assembly so happily begun.



THE WRATH OF PETER STUYVESANT



92. A representative assembly established. It took two revolutions to get a representative assembly: a revolution in England and one in New York. When it was known in the colony that James II had been driven from the throne, a bold German shopkeeper, Leisler, took charge of the militia and ruled in the name of William and Mary. But many of the wealthier people not only opposed military rule, but did not like to see the government in the hands of a common man. Governor Slaughter arrived, seized Leisler, tried him, and when drunk signed his death warrant. William and Mary granted New York a representative assembly. The people were rewarded after half a century of struggle.

NEW SWEDEN OR DELAWARE

- 93. Founding New Sweden (1638). Just before New Sweden was begun, the name of Gustavus Adolphus was on every tongue in Europe. It was the time of the Thirty Years' War. Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, at the head of a well-trained army defeated every general sent against him.³⁷ The Swedish people caught the enthusiasm of their great King and planted a colony on the Delaware where Wilmington now stands. They named it Christina, after their queen.
- 94. A part of New Netherland (1655). The Dutch had already planted a post on the Delaware and looked with jealous eye upon Christina. Just as soon as a good chance came, Peter Stuyvesant sent a fleet of seven ships to compel the fort's surrender. When New Netherland became New York, Delaware became a part of it (1664).
- 95. Delaware won by the Quakers (1682). Maryland needed Delaware to extend her possessions to Delaware Bay, but William Penn, the friend of the Duke of York,

won the prize and added it to Pennsylvania to give that colony an outlet to the sea. The people of Delaware finally obtained an assembly and a deputy governor of their own. The colony was returned to Penn's control (1693–1705), but finally its own assembly was restored. Delaware was not backward in the Revolution.

NEW JERSEY

96. Early settlements. The Dutch claimed the territory that is now New Jersey. They built fur trading



EAST AND WEST JERSEY A'D THE SURROUNDING COLONIES

posts there; the principal one was at Bergen. When New Netherland became English, the Duke of York gave the country from the Hudson to the Delaware to two favorites. Berkeley and Carteret (1664). The name "New Jersey" was given to this region to honor Carteret, who had won fame by defending the island of Jersey against the soldiers of Cromwell (§73). The owners were generous, giving to the colony a governor, a council, an 'elective assembly, and toleration for religious sects. Elizabethtown was settled (1665), and New Haven people, displeased at the fate of

their colony, settled Newark (§81). They immediately organized a town government and decreed that only members of the church could vote.

- 97. East and West Jersey. The owners of New Jersey charged settlers a small sum for the use of the land. The settlers objected, because many of them had paid the Indians for the land. To escape the quarrel Berkeley sold West Jersey to the Quakers. "We put the power in the people," said the Quaker owners. Four hundred Quakers from England founded Burlington (1677). William Penn, other Friends, and Scotch Presbyterians bought East Jersey from Carteret's heirs.
- 98. New Jersey and the Duke of York. The Duke of York repented giving away so rich a part of his possessions. He tried to join New Jersey to New York, but the people were strongly opposed to this. William Penn urged the case against it with such good arguments that he had his way, but Andros was made governor of New Jersey as well as of the colonies to the eastward (§77).
- 99. New Jersey a royal province (1702). The old trouble over rents arose once more. This time the settlers resolved to end the matter by an appeal to arms. But the owners were now Quakers and opposed to war. To escape from the awkward position, they turned the colony over to the king. New Jersey was now given the same governor as New York but had its own independent assembly. The separation came in 1738. New Jersey enjoyed toleration, but as in most of the colonies, only property holders could vote. The rapid growth of New Jersey was not only due to her liberal government, but to her genial climate and her freedom from Indian troubles.

PENNSYLVANIA THE GREAT QUAKER COLONY

100. Beginnings of the Quakers. In the troubled times of Cromwell when the Puritan fought against the Cavalier (§73), no nobler sect was born than the

Quakers. They were even more opposed to forms and ceremonies than were the Puritans (§61). In America they were chased out of almost every colony but Rhode Island (§75). The cornerstone of their belief was that truth is found out by listening to an "inward voice."



101. Democratic teachings of the Ouakers. According to the Quakers all men are equal, since every man has the divine inward light. Hence no titles should be given to any man, and no one should bow or remove the hat, not even for the king. "thee" and "thou" and "friend," or the given name should be used when speaking to people. Such disrespect was a hard blow at feudal society (§2). The Ouaker went farther: he was opposed to paid ministers. He even refused to take an oath in court, or to

bear arms in war. These points were a direct challenge to the church and to the king's government. Scores were thrown into jail for even believing in these doctrines.

102. William Penn the greatest among the Quakers. William Penn was the son of Admiral Penn, the friend of Charles II. He was sent to Oxford where the aristocracy went to school. Here he was a favorite: a student and an athlete. He became a Ouaker. It was as if a bombshell had exploded at his father's feet. He was driven from home, but nothing could change him.38 His father finally forgave him.

William Penn was saddened by the cruel persecution of the Quakers. He himself was thrown into the foul English jails again and again. His success in the Jerseys (§97) led him to resolve to spend his fortune in founding a colony for the Quakers in America. Charles II

offered to give him Pennsylvania to pay the large debt the king owed to Penn's father. Penn accepted the offer gladly.

103. The great migration (1681). Penn was made proprietor of this vast region. He drew up a charter of government. No such government had ever been made by a proprietor: freedom of con-



science regardless of nation, sect, or color; government for the people and conducted by them; reform of criminals; trial by jury for both whites and Indians.

Penn published the news of his "Holy Experiment" far and wide. He wrote to the settlers in Delaware that he was not coming "to make his fortune great." How the people crowded to go! Over three thousand sailed the first year for the banks of the Delaware. Over eight thousand people were there within five years. No such migration had been seen since Puritan times (§69).

104. Penn goes to America (1682). It was a happy company that set sail from England with Penn at its head. The shouts that greeted its arrival at Newcastle showed

the joy in the settlers' hearts at seeing William Penn. They wore farm clothes, and went through a ceremony which was very strange for America. One man gave him water and soil, signifying that Penn was owner of the land, and another gave him turf and twig, showing that he controlled what grew upon the land. All of this belonged



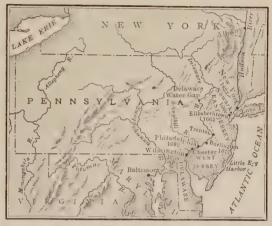
to the feudal system of old Europe. But how could such ideas grow alongside the democracy of the Quakers!

Penn took care to visit the Indians. He won their hearts. He ate with them, danced at their feasts, took part in their games, and gave them presents. Under the shade of a great elm he made a treaty with them which remained unbroken.

105. Founds the City of Brotherly Love (1683). Penn looked around the region and selected the site of the city of Philadelphia, and there laid out the streets at right angles, a new plan for a city. Settlers crowded in so rapidly that many had to live in caves dug in the banks of the Delaware until homes could be built. In the next three years twenty-five hundred people made this city their

home. In 1760 it surpassed Bostoninpopulation, and for the rest of that century it led the cities of the United States. Philadelphia was the home of Benjamin Franklin, the wisest man in America.

106. Penn's



THE EARLY SETTLEMENTS IN PENNSYLVANIA, SHOWING THEIR RELATIONS TO THE NEIGHBORING COLONIES

troubles. Almost from the beginning Pennsylvania and Maryland disputed about the boundary line between them. This was not settled for a long time. Then two men came from England and ran the now famous "Mason and Dixon's Line." This line, in the popular mind, formed the boundary between slave and free states in the quarrels between the North and the South.

Penn was not always wise in choosing governors. The people often objected to the ones he named. Then, too, the settlers forgot what Penn had done for them. They objected to the small amount of "quitrent" given to Penn (§104). This quarrel was kept up until the Revolution. But the colony still prospered. People came from Germany and Ireland as well as from England, until only Massachusetts and Virginia had a larger population than Pennsylvania.

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PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. Write imaginary letters from early Philadelphia to friends in England. 2. Write points in a debate whether the Puritans or the Quakers were more democratic. 3. You are among the settlers receiving Penn on his first visit. What did the settlers say before his coming and what after his arrival? 4. Write about the government established by Penn. Tell how it differed from that of the other colonies.





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CHAPTER VI

THE WAYS OF COLONIAL LIFE

THE PEOPLE

107. How the people grew democratic. We have already noted (§2) how the people of Europe lived when America was discovered. Only a few of the nobles, such as Lord Fairfax, George Washington's neighbor, came to



GREENWAY COURT, THE VIRGINIA HOME OF LORD FAIRFAX

the colonies. A large number of English gentlemen migrated to better their condition. These gentlemen were between the nobles and the middle class, but it was from the middle class that the colonies drew most of their settlers.

But feudal ideas did not succeed well in America. New conditions had to be faced. The settlers had to become accustomed to a new climate. They had to clear away the great forests in order to have a place for their farms and had always to keep a sharp lookout for the Indian. The manner of living tended to put people on the same level. Travelers in America during colonial times were struck by the democratic conditions that existed among the people.

108. How the people were distributed. In colonial days only a few people lived in cities. The rest were farmers. Some lived in small villages, as in New England, and went out each day to work on the farm. In the South were great tobacco and rice plantations on which people lived. In the middle colonies, where no danger from the Indian threatened, the farmers occupied their own farms.

In the early days Boston was the leading city, but Philadelphia soon overtook it (§105). The other important places in order of size were New York, Charleston, Baltimore, and Williamsburg.

In the early part of this period the settlers located on bays and rivers near the sea, because they longed for easy connection with the mother country. After a time hardy pioneers pushed up the rivers to the mountains. Some even crossed the mountains and brought back wonderful tales of the country beyond.

roo. The English and non-English. The colonies always had more Englishmen than people from the Continent in them. The New Englanders were almost all English. Maryland and Virginia came next.

The middle colonies boasted the largest number of non-English. The Dutch and Germans in New York and the Germans and Scotch-Irish in Pennsylvania gave enterprising and industrious classes to these colonies. The Germans were driven by persecution from their homes

along the Necker and Rhine. Many occupied the fairest portions of the Hudson and Mohawk Valley. The great majority, however, went to Pennsylvania, where they settled along the banks of the Susquehanna, forming onethird of the population of that colony. Some of their quaint ways may still be found in the nooks and corners

of that old state. Germans in smaller numbers settled in the Carolinas and Georgia.

The most interesting and charming people migrating to America were the Huguenots (§22). They were driven from their beautiful homes in France by the cruelty of Louis XIV. More than a million fled to other European countries. Many came to America. Every colony was only too glad to get them. They settled in goodly numbers in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston.39



A HUGUENOT GENTLEMAN

110. The Scotch-Irish. Of all the settlers the boldest and most aggressive were the Scotch-Irish, whose forefathers long ago had gone from Scotland to Ireland. They were the last to come into the colonies. They, too, were forced to leave their native country-Ireland-because of the hard laws of the English Parliament. Of all the people seeking freedom from oppression, none sent so many to America as the Scotch-Irish. It is estimated that more than five hundred thousand in all came to this country. Philadelphia was their favorite landing-place, though many went to Charleston. Thousands remained

in Pennsylvania, but other thousands swarmed along the mountains to the south; they met and mingled with their brethren moving north. They owned few slaves, lived simply in their frontier homes, and made the boldest Indian fighters in America. It was the Scotch-Irish that broke over the mountains into Kentucky and Tennessee and defended those regions against the Indians. They made up the rank and file of the men who joined the expeditions against Vincennes and King's Mountain.

III. Social classes among servants. The colonists in migrating left a country where many social differences existed. In colonial days there were more social differences existing than now. Even the servants had their classes. 40 Lowest of these were negro slaves. They were lowest, because they were slaves forever unless some kindhearted master set them free. Even among slaves there were classes: field hands and household servants. In all the colonies there were slaves. Only the Quaker lifted his voice against slavery.

Next above the slaves were the white servants. They were of two general classes—those who were forced to come to America and those who wanted to come.

men and women and even children were kidnapped in the streets of London or other cities and sent to America to be sold. They were called "indented servants." They were fed and clothed and could be whipped. After serving for a term of years as farm workers or house servants they won their freedom. The boldest went to the frontier where land was cheaper and where social differences did not count for much.

Another class of forced immigrants were vagabonds and convicts. The laws of England were very severe in

those days. A judge could sentence one to death for picking a man's pocket or for stealing five shillings from a store. Many humane judges sent prisoners to the colonies rather than condemn them to death. Numbers of these convicts and vagabonds whom England did not wish to support were sent to the colonies and sold. After a few years of service they were set free to make their own way in the world.

113. The "redemptioners." Many poor people in Europe wanted to come to America, but they did not have the money to pay for the sea voyage. These, too, were called indented servants, because they signed a contract or "indenture," to serve the captain of a ship for a term

of years, usually four or five, if he would carry them across the ocean. When the ship reached America the captain would sell the contracts to some planter or farmer, and the immigrants would work for him until their term of service was complete. This seems hard, but many poor people came to America in this way.

114. Social classes among freemen. The small farmer, shopkeeper, and mechanic made the second social group. They stood quite high when we think of character. They were a sturdy class, bound to get on by saving and by educating their boys and girls. great majority in every colony. they from the peasant farmers of Europe (§2)!



A COLONIAL GENTLEMAN

This class formed a How different were To the third and highest class belonged the educated and the well-to-do people. It is very clear how wealth and education had changed classes since Columbus' time.

The servant was extremely polite to people above him. He took off his hat and bowed low when meeting them. A great deal more respect was shown to the upper classes⁴¹ then than now. If a girl married above her rank, her parents rejoiced at her good fortune, but if below it, she was pitied by her friends. At school and college students were sometimes seated, or names were put in the catalogues, according to the rank of the father.

116. How people dressed. The poorer classes sometimes were moccasins made of leather and of fur, and



A HARDY BACKWOODSMAN

of leather and of fur, and leather breeches, when cloth was not to be had. Since colonial times hunters and trappers on the frontier have worn a peculiar kind of clothes.

The royal governors made a great effort to impress their importance upon the people. Other rich persons tried to imitate them. The men wore wigs, rich velvet coats, knee breeches, and silk stockings, and carried gold-headed canes. Fashionable young men wore swords and gay, red coats.

Fashionable women powdered their hair and dressed in the latest London styles.

117. The royal governor's reception in Virginia. In no colony was the Old World pomp and pride kept up so



THE GOVERNOR'S RECEPTION IN COLONIAL DAYS, ONE OF THE GREAT EVENTS OF THE YEAR

well as in Virginia. The great social event was the governor's reception to celebrate the meeting of the House of Burgesses (§41). It was an interesting topic for talk among the women for days before. In his great coach decorated with the family coat of arms and drawn by fine horses, the planter and his family journeyed to the capital. Before and behind them rode negro servants on horseback, all proud to belong to such a master.

What noisy scenes in the old capital town of Williamsburg! How grand and stately the reception! The governor and his wife received the people. How happy the planters if the governor spoke kindly to them! George and Martha Washington were often seen at these receptions.

118. Rent day on the patroon's estate. On the patroon's great farm (§86) took place many interesting events. Among them was rent day. The patroon's house was large.

The fine furniture spoke of great wealth. Around this mansion ran many walks lined with flowers. Near by stood barns with bins for grain and stalls for cattle and horses. Nearer still were smaller houses for servants. How like the estate of a European lord!

When rent day came, the small farmers appeared. They brought the patroon's share of the crops in wagons. It was a holiday, and everyone was dressed in his best. A great feast was prepared: an ox, sheep, or pigs were roasted, and white and black servants ran busily to and fro. The people ate, drank, and made merry. Everybody declared that the patroon was a good fellow. But once at home and hard at work, these farmers could not help wishing the farms were their own (§86).

HOME LIFE AND PASTIMES

119. Colonial homes. The first settlers had to build homes in the forests. They joined hands and built



houses out of logs. When the cracks had been stopped with clay and sticks, when the great fireplace had been

finished, when a door had been cut and windows made by pasting in greased paper, the family could move in. The majority of houses were made of rough logs, but later some were made of dressed logs. Great notches were cut in each end of these logs. These enabled the men to fasten the logs together. After the sawmill came, "frame" houses began to appear.

The earliest furniture for log houses was produced by using the ax, saw, and auger. "Puncheons" were made by splitting logs in two. The floor, when there was one, was made by laying down puncheons with the flat side up. Tables and chairs were made of puncheons with legs. Sometimes a bed of leaves and skins for the boys was placed in the "loft." To this the boys climbed on pegs driven in the wall.⁴²

In cities and on plantations the rich lived in finer homes. They imported their furniture and even the bricks to make their houses. The homes of Hancock of Boston, Morris of Philadelphia, Livingston of New

York, the Rutledges of Charlseton, and Byrd of Virginia were furnished with the best the markets of Europe afforded.

120. Church buildings and blockhouses. No sooner had the little community built its homes than the men went to work building a church. The church was not heated, and



A BLOCKHOUSE BUILT FOR PROTECTION
AGAINST THE INDIANS

people in the North carried foot-warmers and kept on hats and overcoats during the service. The men carried their guns to be ready for an Indian attack. If there were great danger from Indians, the men built a blockhouse first. It was built of great heavy logs, had portholes and an overhanging story. When the alarm was given, all the people for miles around ran to the blockhouse for safety. For more than two hundred years the log cabin and the blockhouse followed the frontier across the continent.

121. The colonial kitchen. In the cabin the parlor, living room, and kitchen were one. The kitchen was not well furnished. In all there was the great fireplace before which cooking was done, but there was no wood, coal, nor gas range. There were the iron skillet, copper kettle, the iron pot, and maybe the great crane on which pots were hung. Bread was baked in the hot ashes, in the Dutch oven, or in the skillet. There were wooden and pewter knives and forks, earthern bowls and dishes, and



A COLONIAL KITCHEN

in a few kitchens "silver plate." A few wooden shelves, a wooden puncheon above the fireplace, and a potbench took the place of pantry and cabinet. To one side usually stood the spinning wheel. And in a

few kitchens were to be seen chairs or a table brought from the old home in England. The poorest kitchens now would have made the colonial dame living in a mansion open her eyes in wonder and amazement.

122. Northern and southern homes. In the North where winters were long and hard, houses were closely built with few doors and windows. There were no stoves, and the great fireplace was the only means of heating. In the South the houses were made to keep cool: their verandas and balconies were large, and a great hall usually divided the house.

Colonial days seem far away when we remember that there was no electricity, gas, or kerosene lamps. Each household made its own candles or used tallow dips. Few boasted of whale oil lamps.



pastimes of colonial days. The colonies had some pastimes common to most sections. One of these was dancing. While people of New England frowned upon this pastime, the young folks in the Dutch settlements and in the South often made merry to the sound of the violin. Sewing and quilting "bees" belonged to each colony; they gave pleasant work for mothers and daughters in the daytime, and in the evening young men happened in to join in some gay sport. Another pastime common to all parts was boating. On the large rivers it was sloop sailing with the decks large enough for guests.

Southern people have always been famed as horseback riders. They had to be good horsemen, for their homes were far apart. The pastime peculiar to the South was fox hunting. Each planter had his stable of horses and his kennel of hounds. Old folks, as well as young, joined in the chase from early morning until the fox was caught.

The boys of Boston and of Charleston played football, not much after the present-day style, however. They



FOX-HUNTING IN VIRGINIA

had many kinds of ball games such as "town around" out of which baseball grew, and "bull pen." Wrestling was enjoyed by many of the more vigorous boys, and jump-

ing games were very common. Winter sports, such as skating and sleigh riding, were enjoyed in the North.

In the South and among the Dutch, simple plays upon the stage, gotten up by local talent, gave entertainment to the people. The Dutch and Germans in this country made great preparations for enjoying Christmas time.

COLONIAL EDUCATION

had to work in old colony days, even the children. This made it hard for boys and girls to go to school. There were few books then, and little money to buy them. In the South attending school was difficult indeed. The children lived many miles apart, and roads were very poor. Schoolhouses were built without much attention to the comfort of the pupils. The floors, if they had any, were made of puncheons (§119). This was true also of seats and writing desks. The light came through windows covered with oiled paper. The teacher was a man who had little sympathy with the pranks of youngsters.

He knew how to keep them busy only by the free use of the rod. Children frequently studied "out loud,"

and as a rule were not divided into classes, but each child recited his lesson alone.

Only the boys were allowed to go to the public schools. The girls received no training outside of the home, except when permitted to attend a private



A NEW ENGLAND SCHOOLHOUSE

school for girls, "dame schools," as they were called.

125. Schools in the different colonies. The Puritan was a great believer in the Bible. Hence his children must be taught to read. When no teacher appeared he usually employed the minister. The minister was often the teacher in all the colonies. In 1647 the legislature of Massachusetts required every town of fifty families to provide a school for its boys, and every town of a hundred families to have a grammar school. From these early schools grew the public school system of America.

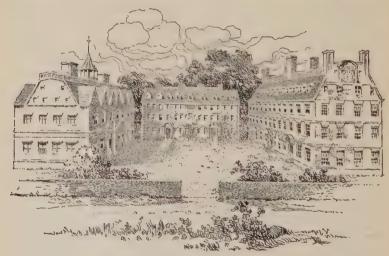
The English neglected the schools which the Dutch had begun in almost every town in New Netherland. Just before the surrender of New Netherland a Latin school was established in New Amsterdam that drew students from far-away South Carolina. In New Jersey, soon after 1700, every county was required to have a school supported by public taxation. The most famous of all Philadelphia schools was the Penn Charter School. It threw open its doors to both boys and girls, to the poor without price, and to the rich for a fee. Outside of this

vigorous city, schools did not flourish in Pennsylvania, although parents who failed to teach boys and girls to read and write were fined.

We have seen why schools were few in the South (§124). Virginia tried to establish a free school, but the plan did not work well. That famous old tyrant, Governor Berkeley, in writing to the king, thanked God that Virginia had neither printing press nor free schools. In South Carolina free schools were maintained by the gifts of generous-hearted people.

But planters everywhere had their children taught by tutors or by a minister.

126. Colleges of colonial times. For half a century Harvard (1636) at Cambridge, Massachusetts, remained the only college in the colonies. William and Mary



HARVARD COLLEGE IN THE EARLY DAYS

College at Williamsburg, named to honor the new monarchs of England, came to bless Virginia (1693). The

century was a year old when Yale was founded at New Haven, Connecticut. Another half century slipped by



WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE ABOUT 1725

before New England founded Brown (1764). Dartmouth at Hanover, New Hampshire, was soon added (1769). The middle colonies founded Princeton at Princeton, New Jersey (1746), King's College, now Columbia in New York City (1754), Pennsylvania at Philadelphia (1755), and Rutgers at New Brunswick, New Jersey (1770).

The colonial colleges were little better than the high schools of today. They took boys in their "teens" and put them through a stiff course in four years. Governor Belcher of New Jersey said of Princeton College "that a seminary for religion and learning should be promoted in this Province, for the better enlightening the minds and polishing the manners, of this and the neighboring colonies." Hence colonial colleges trained ministers in the main. Their courses were made up largely of the ancient languages and mathematics. In 1755 Benjamin

Franklin was the chief founder of an academy which placed as much emphasis upon the study of English as upon the ancient languages. This school became the University of Pennsylvania.

The college life of those days would seem queer to us now. The students were not so democratic as they now are, although there were no fraternities (§115). Organized athletics were absent, and the boys spent their leisure in pranks for which they were tried by college courts and punished by college officers. The colleges of colonial days were modeled after Oxford and Cambridge Universities. It was the custom for the planters in the southern colonies to send their sons to England for an education.⁴³

- 127. Self-educated men. The great majority of able men in colonial times had been to college either at home or abroad. Some had not, and Washington and Franklin were among these. These two great men were educated in the "University of the World." One other such man was John Bartram of Philadelphia, pronounced by a great man to be the "greatest natural botanist in the world."
- 128. Reading matter. Libraries. In 1639 the first printing press in the colonies was set up in Cambridge, Massachusetts. How slow the world would seem to us without a newspaper of any kind! The earliest one, the Boston News-Letter, appeared in 1704. Before the Revolution every colony had one or more newspapers. When the first daily appeared, the Pennsylvania Packet, the colonies must have thought they were progressive indeed.

The one book found in most colonial homes was the Bible. It was the favorite textbook in schools. Other

books were scarce. Town after town had no public library. Charleston had the only important library in any southern city. A few individuals had, for that time, good libraries. The largest was owned by a wealthy Virginia planter, William Byrd, founder of the town of Richmond. His library numbered thirty-five hundred volumes. Cotton Mather, the great New England preacher, had a library of three thousand volumes.

129. Peter Zenger's trial. Near the close of the colonial period, a New York newspaper—Peter Zenger, editor—criticized the governor. The governor had Zenger arrested. His trial created intense excitement, and Zenger was made to feel how dangerous it was to find fault publicly with a man high in authority. He sent for a great Quaker lawyer, Andrew Hamilton. Hamilton declared: "It is not the cause of a poor printer nor of New York alone, . . . it is the cause of liberty." The judges set Zenger free, and the crowd shouted, and the people of New York gave Zenger a great banquet. Never again was the right of free speech in such danger in America.

RELIGIOUS AND MORAL LIFE

r30. Many sects in the colonies. Down to the Revolution the English church was established in Virginia. Everybody paid taxes for its support. It was also, for some time, the established church for Maryland and the Carolinas.

The New England Puritans were Congregationalists (§70), and in all the colonies but Rhode Island the church was tax supported. Among the Scotch-Irish settlers, found in all colonies, the Presbyterians were by far the strongest. The Dutch Reformed people were more

numerous in New York and in New Jersey than in the other colonies. The Baptists were strongest in Rhode Island.



GOOSE CREEK CHURCH, SOUTH CAROLINA, IN 1708

The Lutherans were most numerous among the Germans settling in America. There were Moravians, Mennonites, and the Dunkards in Pennsylvania. Quakers were found in nearly every colony, but the middle colo-

nies were their home. The Methodist church, founded by John Wesley in England (1740), did not make much progress until after the Revolution.

This great variety of sects gradually came to tolerate each other as the result of bitter experience.

131. Severe church ways. The minister. The colonists were very much in earnest about religion. Members of one sect not only believed other sects wrong, but to be avoided. In almost all the first colonies the law compelled a man to go to a certain church (§75). Protesting against this law got Roger Williams into trouble (§71).

The minister was a great man in the colonies, except among the Quakers who had no paid minister (§101). He was a college bred man as a rule, and was treated with respect. His advice was asked by the head of the house and by the officers of the colony.

132. People strict in keeping the Sabbath. On Sunday little work was done even in the home. Every person,

dressed in his best, went to church to hear long sermons and visit a bit with neighbors. In New England if anyone fell asleep during the sermon, an officer gently tapped him on the head.

133. Two great colonial preachers. One of the great ministers in early New England was Cotton Mather. He was a college man and could read the ancient languages. While still in his "teens" he preached his first sermon. He dipped into science a bit and wrote letters to learned men on the Continent. He was a great figure in the witchcraft trials (§136). Another great preacher was Whitefield (§50). He founded in Georgia the first orphan asylum in America and was one of the greatest revivalists that ever lived. He came to New England, where Ionathan Edwards had produced the "great awakening," a religious revival. Whitefield split the Puritans in two divisions by his preaching (1744).



PURITANS GOING TO CHURCH

134. Punishment severe among the colonists. The law was cruel in colonial times. Men suffered death for

many deeds for which they would now go to jail, be fined, or even be set free with a serious talk from the judge (§112). But even then the laws were not as severe in the colonies as in England.

Whipping the children in the family for all kinds of wrongdoing was very common. Few kindly hands were

lifted to improve bad children.

- r35. Punishment in public. In colonial times punishment in public was the fashion, but now it is in private. The gallows, on which men were hanged, stood in a public place, and in nearly every town the pillory and the stocks stood where people could see offenders duly punished. A ducking-stool stood ready for the woman who slandered her neighbors. Scores of men in colonial times bore on face and hand marks made by a red-hot iron. A milder punishment was to hang around a man's neck a card bearing a word showing his offense. The purpose seemed to be to strike terror into the hearts of evildoers. The one bright spot in the colonies was Pennsylvania with the laws made by the humane Quakers for the reform of evildoers.
- ago, the people in all countries believed in witches. They thought persons ugly in form could become the companions of evil spirits and obtain aid in bringing cruel punishment on those they hated, or "bewitched." In 1692 some young people at Salem, Massachusetts, acted strangely. They declared that certain persons had bewitched them. The excitement spread until the jail was full of innocent people. Nineteen were hanged before the people of Salem realized that they would all be in jail if the craze kept on. They stopped it. In Europe, one hundred years later, people were burned for being witches.

INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE

- 137. Colonial labor. After the early fever for gold-hunting had passed, the settlers began to work. They found more work and harder work than they had expected. But they found one thing in plenty: free land. All land in Europe had been taken up by men owning great estates (§ 5). We have seen, too, how such men tried to bring the same plan of land-holding to America (§ 50, 54, 86). It failed, because America was too big. The settlers who wanted to own their own farms needed only to go a little farther west, where there was free land in abundance. The result has been, even to our day, that nowhere else has labor owned so many of the farms it tilled. How different in the Old World! There the wage earner and the tenant farmer are still underlings, but in America the farmer is a free man.
- 138. Common occupations. Farming was the one occupation most common, because both food and clothing came from it. The North had more farmers than the South, because northern farms were small while southern plantations were large. None the less, farming was the only great occupation in the South. No other could compare with it. In all the colonies manufacturing, shipbuilding, commerce, fishing, and fur trading were the other means of winning a living. In the North many people enjoyed the benefits that came from these occupations, but in the South only the planters, the few, enjoyed the best results of farming.
- 139. Ways and means of farming. The settlers brought to America the ways of farming used by their fathers. In Europe the soil was rested every third year to keep it from wearing out. But when the ground was newly cleared, the American farmer did not do even this.

When the land began to wear out all the settler had to do was to clear a new field or move farther west and take up new land. Land was cheap in those days. This wasteful and destructive way of treating the soil has continued in some parts to our day. Then the farmer did not know what crops are best for the soil. Now we do. Now we rotate crops; that is, the farmer raises a different crop each year on the same piece of ground. This rests the soil and is much less wasteful than the old custom of letting the land lie fallow every third year.

The very tools used by the colonists were ancient. They were nearly all made of wood. The colonial plow

was like that of the Romans. The harrow, an awkward tool, had its teeth made of wood.

The rake, the spade, and the fork were also wooden. The hoe for digging, the scythe for cutting grass, and the sickle



TOOLS USED BY THE COLONIAL FARMER

for reaping grain, were made of iron. It is now clear why farmers in old colony times raised but a small quantity of any one crop. Because of the primitive tools in use, there were no fields with miles of growing corn or acres upon acres of waving grain such as may be seen today. Machinery to help cultivate and gather the crops makes the difference.

The sickle was capable of cutting only a single handful of grain at a time. Men now living have seen the farmer use his horses to tramp out the grain on the bare ground or on the barn floor. He then threw the grain up against

a briskly blowing wind to drive away the chaff. If he had a sieve, he put the grain through it to clean it once more. It was now ready for the mill. But the mill might have been a "hand mill," or a "horse mill," a mill turned by a horse hitched to a "sweep." In later colonial days water mills were introduced. We can understand now why most people in the North had to be farmers.

140. The farmer an independent man. Besides producing what he wanted to eat, the farmer raised flax and wool, which his own family made into clothes or bedding. Have you never seen the spinning wheel on which our great-grandmothers made flax thread? Or the larger one on which they made woolen thread? The power for turning the smaller one came from the foot, and for turning the larger one, from the hand. The farmer's

family wove and cut and made the clothes they wore. Only the rich wore fine clothes imported from London.

The farmers of New England and the middle states obtained the finest sirup and sugar in the world from the maple trees growing in the woods. Hogs ran wild and fed on the nuts of the forest. The result was that the farmer could have more meat than he needed. Besides, he added variety to his supply by using his rifle on the game



SPINNING IN A COLONIAL HOME

in the forest. The most independent person in the world was the American farmer of the colonial period.

141. How the planter lived. Some account must be given of how the planter managed his great plantation.



CULTIVATING A CAROLINA RICE FIELD

The first planters were careful to locate on ocean front or river. This gave them easy communication with their neighbors and direct connection with the mother country. The planter and his laborers made up a sort of village. They could produce everything they needed on the plantation, but not all they wanted. Their leading crop was tobacco, if the planter was a Marylander or a Virginian; rice or indigo, if he was a Carolinian. If he was enterprising, he raised corn and wheat, oats and hay, and had herds of cattle and flocks of sheep.

The planter's family obtained fine clothes, shoes, furniture, and tableware from the markets of London. The planter, like George Washington, had his agent in London to whom he gave his orders for goods and to whom he

sent his products to be sold. Now and then the planter ran deeply in debt to London merchants.

Many of the more trusty slaves were shoemakers, carpenters, gardeners, and blacksmiths. The slaves were very proud of their master and of the position he held in the community.

142. When the great ship came to the planter's door. The annual ship from England landed at the planter's own wharf. For weeks everybody talked of its coming, the news it was to bring from old friends, and the fine

clothes and furniture fresh from the old English home.

How all hands worked to get the tobacco or rice or indigo ready for the great vessel! What excitement and stir as the ship came intoview, sailing up the river! What joy it brought to every one! Good news from the old home, some letters, presents,



LOADING THE GREAT SHIP AT THE PLANTER'S WHARF

and perhaps some long-absent father or brother or sister! Then came the work of unloading what the planter had ordered, and of loading what he had to sell. While this work was being done the planter and his family were entertaining, in true plantation style, officers of the ship, were settling accounts, and giving orders for the next year.

- 143. The small farmer a jack of all trades. The small farmer belonged in every colony. When not busy on his farm he engaged in other labor. While game was plentiful, he hunted for food and trapped for fur. He might turn his attention to lumbering, shipbuilding, carpentering, blacksmithing, dressing leather, or to making hats. Boys were kept busy whittling out forks and butter paddles for their mothers, or wooden knives, forks, and spoons for the family. They made traps in the winter for catching game birds and animals. In the South, particularly in North Carolina, many people made tar, pitch, and turpentine.
- 144. The fur trader. From colonial days until now trapping and fur trading have gone on. To the early settlers it gave one article wanted in Europe. New York soon led in this trade. The Dutch were just the people to win the friendship of the Indians (§33). Their first cargo of furs brought the thrifty Dutchmen \$10,000. It was the struggle of the early settlers for this trade that first drew them to seek lands toward the setting sun.
- 145. The fishermen of New England. When New England fishing of all kinds was at its best, it brought over \$1,000,000 per year. Cod fishing began about 1670, and in a few years 650 vessels and over four thousand men were in this industry. Twenty years after whale fishing began, 260 ships sailed in search of this monster of the ocean. The fish were dried for the market, and the whale was cut up for his oil. American ships carried these products to almost every market in the world.

146. The making of ships. Ships were built in every colony, but in largest numbers in the North. In fact, shipbuilding took its rise in Plymouth very soon after the colony was founded (§64). It has been said that Captain Adrian Block of New Amsterdam built the first ship in the colonies, but New York did not follow up this effort immediately. The splendid forests that grew to the ocean's edge made it easy for the Americans to build the best ships in the world. Very soon the shipbuilders in England were sending petitions to Parliament to have shipbuilding stopped in America. The English government wanted a large navy, so they encouraged Americans to send naval supplies to England. One of the best results of colonial shipbuilding was the growth of so many different occupations; as woodchopping, logging, sawmilling, carpentering, ropemaking, pitchmaking, sailmaking, blacksmithing, and others.

147. The iron industry. In all the colonies there was iron ore. It was very easy to get, for it was found in swamps or bogs. Hence it was called "bog iron ore." In the southern colonies the people were too busy with tobacco and rice to manufacture iron; they loaded ships with the ore and sent it to England. In the North business men built mills for rolling it into shape so it could be used. They made tools for the farmer, the carpenter, and the blacksmith, and manufactured articles for the home. In 1750 Parliament felt that the iron trade in America was cutting into English trade; so they passed the Iron Works Act, which checked colonial trade in iron (§179).

148. Colonial manufactures. In colonial days nearly everything was made by hand. Then many things were made in the same house. Now one thing is

made in a great factory filled with machinery driven by great engines. Then the father might make shoes or furniture while the mother and her daughters spun, wove, cut the cloth, and made clothes.

The hatmakers called on Parliament to keep American hats out of their markets. Parliament answered by prohibiting the manufacture of hats (1732) (§179).

149. The manufacture of cloth. From an early day the colonists raised sheep for the wool. As they grew they made more woolens than they needed. Their ships carried the surplus to the West Indies and to Europe, where they met English goods. Parliament passed its famous Woolens Bill (1699), declaring that no wool nor woolen goods should be "exported . . . out of the said English plantations to any of the other plantations or to any place whatsoever."

Hemp was produced for rope in Maryland and Virginia, flax for linen in the more northern colonies; and cotton in the South had made a small beginning.

150. Home commerce. The very first trade with Indians was for something to eat and furs to wear. The Indians loved colors, cloth, glass beads, or other trinkets. They soon learned, also, to demand guns and hatchets.

The rise of towns caused a demand for farm products, for dried fish, lumber, and rum. The colonists had very little money. Hence most of their trade was carried on by giving so many pounds or bushels of one thing for so many pounds or bushels of another. This way of trading is called barter.

151. Travel and communication. We have seen that early settlers located on harbors or on rivers, because travel by land was slow and dangerous. Small rowboats and canoes were the means of travel on the smaller rivers.

On the larger streams articles of trade as well as passengers made their way in the wind-driven sloop. From city to city along the coast travel and trade made the distance in small sailing ships.

As people grew in numbers, they pushed away from seacoast and river. Other means of travel were used. The Indian trails were followed at first. The season when travel was easiest was winter, when the sleigh was used. Until almost Revolutionary times there were no roads for the stagecoach. In 1756 a stagecoach between New York and Philadelphia, called the "Flying Machine," traveled ninety miles in three days. A postman on horseback carried the mail between the larger towns. In 1753 Benjamin Franklin was appointed deputy postmaster-general for all the colonies.

- 152. Foreign commerce. Articles made in the homeland had first rank in the minds of the settlers. This made trade with England easy. Tobacco, rice, and naval stores (pitch, turpentine, and tar) were shipped out by the southern colonies, while the northern and middle colonies sent masts, salted fish, lumber, pig iron, flour, and salted meat. In return England sent coffee, tea, cutlery, silks, wines, cloth, ironware, and implements of various kinds. The colonial shipowner often sold his vessel, for American ships brought high prices in Europe.
- Englander carried some of his goods to the West Indies and traded them for sugar and molasses. He took these home and manufactured them into rum. 46 A part of the rum was sold at home; a part was traded to the Indians for furs; a third part was carried to the West Indies and traded for more sugar and molasses; and the rest was carried to Africa, where the chiefs were glad to get it in

exchange for slaves. The slaves were carried to America and sold in the West Indies and in the colonies.⁴⁷

- 154. West Indian trade leads to smuggling. England owned some of the West Indies.⁴⁸ The Spanish and French West India Islands were not open to Englishmen for trade. Englishmen at home set the example to Americans in smuggling goods to these islands. The American colonist became a double smuggler when he got by the French or Spanish custom officers, and then brought his cargo to America and outwitted the English custom officers.
- 155. Piracy everywhere. Smuggling was not piracy, but sometimes smugglers turned pirates. Along the coast from Maine to the West Indies pirates were to be found. It is said that one of the colonial governors sold them licenses. Captain Kidd, a bold seaman, sailed to hunt them down, turned pirate himself, and became the terror of the sea. Besides Kidd there were French, Bonnet, and Blackbeard, all famous pirates. Finally the colonists and the English drove the pirates to the Spanish West Indies.

HOW THE COLONIES WERE GOVERNED

156. Why the colonists loved England. The majority of the colonists were warmly attached to England. They had good reason to look up to England. Her government was not only the freest among European nations, but she had given the colonies a more liberal government than any other nation would have done. But Englishmen had to battle with their monarchs now and then in order to keep their government free. The colonists could always point with pride to those great charters of liberty: Magna Charta (1215); the Petition of Right

(1629); and the Bill of Rights (1689).⁴⁹ The settlers, as Englishmen, claimed the rights named in these grants.

- 157. The monarch's blunders. The colonies had a more perfect system of self-government than England had. England had a king and a House of Lords. It is true that this king was sovereign over the colonies, but he acted through governors or proprietors. Two colonies, Rhode Island and Connecticut, elected their own governors. While the colonies were small the king paid little attention to them. He made the mistake of trying to manage them after they had grown great in numbers. The monarch ceased to use the veto power in England (1707), but made the blunder of continuing to veto colonial laws.
- 158. Where our state governments came from. "The roots of the present lie deep in the past." We realize the truth of this when we think of how our present state governments grew out of colonial governments. The colonial governor vetoed laws he did not like and put others in force. The colonial governor sent messages to the legislature, appointed officers, and was a great figure at social gatherings. Our governors do all of these things.

To aid the governor the colony usually had a council made up of leading men. This council in some colonies had the right to help make the laws. Out of this council our senate has grown.

But the people of the colonies took pride in their representatives. They elected them then as now. Not all the people voted, but mainly persons owning property. In some colonies a voter or office-holder must hold certain religious doctrines. The members of these lower houses kept a sharp lookout over what the governor did. They objected when he spent too much money and if he did not please them sometimes cut down his salary.

159. Where our local governments came from. In New England the settlers formed little groups around a church and a school (§70). Each group chose a name and became a town or township. The New England town included both the village and all the farms near it. From this town two representatives were elected to the assembly. This town had its own government. The men met to talk over the town's welfare. At this meeting leaders, called selectmen, were elected to look after the government. In most northern towns we have a similar government. These town-meetings gave New England people a fine training in self-government.

The southern colonists did not gather into towns but settled far apart on big plantations. They had county governments. The leading officer was called the sheriff after the officer of an English county. We, too, have a

county officer so named.

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Inventors, 187-206.

First Christmas; Stockton, Stories of New Jersey; Paulding, The Dutchman's Fireside.

PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. Describe a colonial "dandy." 2. You are a Scotch-Irishman living on the frontier. What are your experiences? 3. Write letters to a southern boy or girl telling of northern fun in winter time. 4. Get letters from the colonial South.





CHAPTER VII

THE BATTLE FOR NORTH AMERICA

THE RISE OF NEW FRANCE

160. The French and the Newfoundland fisheries. John Cabot and the Cortereal brothers (1501) took back to Europe stories of immense numbers of fish in the waters near Newfoundland. As a result, as early as 1504 French fishermen were visiting the fishing grounds, and by 1522 they had built some houses on shore. They came every year and built up a flourishing business. By 1577 they had one hundred and fifty ships on the Banks, many more than any other nation. We have read of the work of Verrazano and Cartier, but no permanent French settlement was founded for a long time (§22). In 1604 De Monts founded Port Royal, later called Annapolis.

161. Samuel Champlain, the founder of New France (1608). Champlain planted the first permanent colony in Canada at Quebec, one year after Jamestown was

settled by the English. He soon joined with the Algonquin Indians (1609) in a war against their deadly enemies, the Iroquois (§34). On the shores of Lake Champlain they



THE DEFEAT OF THE IROQUOIS AT LAKE CHAMPLAIN

met with savage yells. The ranks of the Algonquins opened, and Champlain, clad in steel and armed with a

weapon never before seen by the Iroquois, stepped forth. He fired, and two Iroquois chiefs fell. Other shots immediately followed, and the "boldest and fiercest warriors of North America" ran frightened through the woods. From that day, for over a hundred years the Iroquois kept the French from coming into New York.

results the many days. They reached the mouth of the Arkansas.



LA SALLE AT THE MOUTH OF THE MISSISSIPPI

Satisfied that the Mississippi River flowed into the Gulf of Mexico they now made their slow way back. Joliet went home to Quebec, but Marquette built a cabin on the site of the city of Chicago (1674). He died soon after, a missionary to the Indians.

163. La Salle and Hennepin.

La Salle was greatest among the early French explorers. He resolved to hold the Mississippi region for his beloved France (1679). His expedition started from Canada and went by way of the St. Joseph and the Kankakee rivers to Peoria Lake. He returned to Canada, and Hennepin paddled on down to the Mississippi and up that stream to the Falls of St. Anthony, where now stand the great cities of St. Paul and Minneapolis. La Salle returned and passed down the Mississippi River to its mouth (1783). He took possession and named the region Louisiana in honor of the king of France, Louis XIV.



THE SETTLEMENT OF NEW ORLEANS AS IT APPEARED IN 1710

164. Louisiana. The plans of the French. How the Frenchman's heart leaped for joy as he looked forward to a vast empire in the heart of America! The king sent La Salle with an expedition to settle at the mouth of the Mississippi (1684). But La Salle missed the place, wandered about in Texas, and finally was murdered by one of his own men. France was not discouraged. She settled Biloxi on the Gulf (1699), and Mobile farther east (1702). In rapid succession she built forts Assumption, Rosalie, and New Orleans (1714–18). Already some Frenchmen were coming west and south from the Great Lakes. They, too, had built a strong chain of forts. The English had not yet broken over the Alleghenies, and the French did their work in safety.

THEIR FIRST CONFLICTS

165. King William's War and Queen Anne's War (1689-1713). We have already seen the great changes made in the colonies by William and Mary (§§78, 92). The king of France, Louis XIV, hated the new king of England and decided to make war. The English colonies were only too glad to join the mother country. The main French and Indian events included attacks on the frontier towns of Schenectady, Salmon Falls, Haverhill, and Deerfield. The English replied by attacking Acadia in both wars. They changed its name to Nova Scotia, and Port Royal to Annapolis (§160). The treaty of Utrecht gave England possession of the Hudson Bay country and Newfoundland. This was the beginning of the end of New France.

166. King George's War (1744-48). For over thirty years England had no war with France, thanks to a great



THE CAPTURE OF LOUISBURG

English statesman, Robert Walpole. France had fortified Louisburg, the key to the St. Lawrence. When war

finally came, England sent great fleets carrying several thousand soldiers to attack Louisburg. New England raised four thousand more men, and the fortress fell (1745). Great was the joy in the colonies. Their disappointment at its return by treaty to France was made lighter by a gift from Parliament to help pay the cost of the war.

THE GREAT STRUGGLE

r67. In the first West. Causes of the war. Many colonial grants, according to their charters, ran from sea to sea. But the French cared nothing for English charters. Their fur traders pushed south as the English pushed north. They met in the Appalachian region, the West of that time.

This was a wonderful region of vast forests, with rich soil in the valleys and with abundant animal life. It was already occupied by the Scotch-Irish (§110).

The Ohio Company had obtained 500,000 acres near the source of the Ohio River. Settlers were getting ready to go into this region. The French, too, were coming down the Allegheny River to the source of the Ohio.

168. Washington's first public service. Washington⁵⁰ was a fine-looking young man; tall and strong, and able to



WASHINGTON ON HIS WAY BACK FROM

outdo his fellows. Although he was not yet twenty-one, the governor of Virginia picked him to order the French

out of the Ohio Valley region. They refused to go, and he was put at the head of troops to push to the source



INDIANS ON THEIR WAY BACK TO CANADA WITH THEIR PRISONERS

of the Ohio. He fought two skirmishes, winning one and losing one. He was compelled to surrender. War had now begun.

The French were trying hard to win the Iroquois; hence English colonial delegates were sent to Albany to treat with the Indians. Not all the Indian chiefs came. They plainly told the English: "The French are men; they are fortifying everywhere. But, we are ashamed to say it, you are like women." The Indians were given presents and went away happy.

The colonies had long felt the need of some kind of union. The delegates adopted a plan prepared by Benjamin Franklin. Neither king nor colonies would have it. They faced the war broken into thirteen parts,

while the French were united. The governor of Canada could order every Frenchman in Canada into the army. The colonies could only ask for volunteers.

r70. Braddock's defeat (1755). England sent General Braddock with a small army to help the colonists. They joined him in a campaign against Fort Duquesne on the Ohio. He was brave but haughty. He refused the advice of Franklin and Washington that he get ready for an Indian surprise. He marched along a narrow road through the deep forests. Near the fort the Indians, yelling like demons, fired upon his troops from behind trees. The soldiers could not see the Indians and ran away after many of their comrades had been shot down.



WASHINGTON AND THE VIRGINIANS SAVE BRADDOCK'S ARMY

Braddock was mortally wounded.⁵¹ Only Washington and his Virginians saved the army from total wreck.

171. Washington on the frontier. The Acadians. The House of Burgesses gave Washington hearty thanks for his bravery. He hastened into the Shenandoah Valley to guard the frontier families from the tomahawk and the scalping knife of the Indians. He won name and fame in protecting this "backdoor" to the colonies.

The English were successful against the Acadians who were French and lived in far-off Nova Scotia (§165). They loved their native land and refused to be loval to the English flag. They were taken from their homes and scattered among strangers from Maine to Georgia.52

172. The Seven Years' War. The French and Indian War was a part of the struggle in Europe which we know as the Seven Years' War. France, Russia, and Spain joined Austria in trying to defeat Frederick the Great of



Prussia. England went to the aid of Frederick. England sent her soldiers to America and her money to Frederick. The English navy, the most powerful in the world, guarded the sea and kept France from sending troops to America. This war raged at the same time in America, in Europe, and in far-away Asia.

173. Pitt to the rescue. For two years (1756-57) France won every battle in

America. She was united. The English sent over poor generals, while the French had a great soldier, Montcalm.

The English turned out their worthless ministers after two years of defeat and called William Pitt, the great

statesman, to the head of the government. Pitt was a man of boundless energy and enthusiasm. He did everything at once. sent more money to Frederick the Great. raised more soldiers to send to America, and selected new generals because of their fighting ability. The colonies caught his enthusiasm and voted more men and more money than their share.53

174. Pitt's generals. Pitt sent a great fleet and army



LOUIS TOSEPH DE MONTCALM



TAMES WOLFE

against Louisburg (§166). The walls of the fort crumbled, and the mouth of the St. Lawrence River was now open.

> Pitt sent Howe to attack Fort Ticonderoga with the largest army yet seen in America, fifteen thousand. Everything promised victory until Howe was killed. 54 Nearly two thousand men fell, the largest number yet killed in an American battle. The English retreated.

> General Forbes gathered an army and captured Fort Duquesne. Washington raised the British flag over that frontier post. It was named Fort Pitt in honor of that great Englishman.



THE VICTORY OF WOLFE

175. The fall of Quebec. While Niagara and Oswego were being captured and Sir William Johnson and General Amherst were driving the French from Ticonderoga and Crown Point, General Wolfe was moving against Quebec. After Louisburg, Quebec was the key to Canada. Wolfe's cannon easily knocked to pieces the lower town. But Montcalm's real fort was the high bluff of the St. Lawrence called the Plains of Abraham.

One night, after a wait of three months, Wolfe's men clambered up the heights and were ready for battle in the



THE DEATH OF GENERAL WOLFE

early morning. Montcalm advanced to the attack. The British held their fire until the French were near. The French line wavered, broke, and fled. Wolfe and Montcalm both fell mortally wounded. "I am happy," said Montcalm, "I shall not live to see the surrender of Quebec." Wolfe, hearing the cry of victory and told that the French were running, said with a smile on his face, "Now God be praised! I shall die in peace." The

next year Montreal fell and all Canada became English. The dream of a New France had passed away forever.

THE MEANING OF THE VICTORY

r76. To the world. The treaty signed in Paris (1763) was proof of England's victory. England received Florida from Spain. Spain received all of Louisiana west of the Mississippi from France. In far-off India, England laid the foundations of her vast possessions which now reach round the world. But most important of all, Canada and the land east of the Mississippi fell to England.

To America it meant the triumph of the ideas of the "glorious revolution" (§78). In all New France there had never been a representative assembly, town meeting, trial by jury, a free school, or religious toleration. The English colonies rejoiced in all of these institutions. The people of New France, only eighty thousand in number, were under the rule of a tyrant king, but the people of the colonies, over a million were their own rulers.

177. To England and America. The English colonies were wild with joy when they heard of the capture of Quebec. Bells rang, cannon boomed, bonfires burned, and candles and whale oil lamps were set in the windows. The colonists were proud of the English name. They were glad to welcome three new colonies: (1) Canada, (2) Florida, and (3) West Florida on the Gulf.

Both England and the colonies went deeply into debt. The war had been a sort of training school for Americans. It taught them what a campaign can cost in money and in food. Thereafter many of their soldiers were well trained and later made good officers in the war of the Revolution. As a result of the war the colonists knew each other better. They had fought together, sorrowed

over the same defeats, and rejoiced over the same victories. The ties of union were made stronger.

This war removed the French menace. "Do you not see," asked a French statesman of an Englishman, "that Canada in the hands of France will serve to keep your colonies in the dependence which they will not fail to shake off the moment Canada is ceded?"

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PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

r. Go with Champlain and the Canadian Indians down the St. Lawrence and up Lake Champlain to their battle with the Iroquois. Write what you see and hear and what the effect will be. 2. Go down the Mississippi with Joliet and Marquette. Write an account of the trip to friends in France. 3. Take a trip from Quebec through the Great Lakes and down to the Gulf. Describe France's "dream of empire." 4. You are one of Washington's guides to the French. Write up the story. 5. Write a paper justifying Pontiac's conspiracy.

CHAPTER VIII

SEPARATION FROM ENGLAND AND UNION AMONG THE COLONIES

REASONS FOR THE REVOLUTION

178. Europe's way of treating colonies. The colonists rejoiced in belonging to a nation that had its possessions in India, Europe, and America.

Ancient nations had planted colonies to enrich the merchants of their own countries. Spain and France treated their colonies in the same way. Their trade, religion, and government were under the thumb of the monarch. To keep colonial trade for their own merchants, no other nation was permitted to trade with their colonies. If colonial goods came into markets where the mother country traded, laws were passed to prevent this competition. Before 1750 English colonies everywhere enjoyed freer trade, freer religion, and freer government than the colonies of any other nation.

Yet it must be understood that England planted colonies to benefit herself. She felt that her interests came first, even before those of the colonies. She wanted to build up her navy by having all goods sent to and from America in English ships; she wanted the colonists to send most of their products to England and not to other countries, and she wanted a market for her manufactures in America. She was willing for the colonies to have a good deal of freedom in some matters, but after all she expected to control them so as to make herself rich and strong, and not so as to benefit the colonies.

179. The Navigation and other laws. The Navigation Laws (§89) crippled the American trade, because they declared that all goods must be carried to England in English or colonial ships; that goods coming to the colonies must first be taken to England.

The Sugar Act (1733) struck a deadly blow at the sugar and molasses trade with the French and Spanish West Indies (§153). Other acts regarded as oppressive were the Hat Act (§148) and the Iron Works Act (§147). Although the navigation and trade laws dated as far back as Cromwell's time, they had never been really enforced. Grenville, the new prime minister, and George III, the new king, decided to make the colonists obey these laws.

180. A new king brings new ways (1760). George III was ruler of Hanover, in Germany, while he was king of

England. He had been educated by tutors and had been taught to believe it the king's duty to win the power lost in the two great revolutions (§§73, 78). Most of the Tories supported him. He broke the Whig party into factions by bribes and gifts of office. Many statesmen feared for English liberty. Pitt, Burke, Fox, and other Whigs never gave up the fight against him. We would expect this king to have a new plan for governing his colonies.



GEORGE III, KING OF ENGLAND

The king needed money as a result of the French and Indian wars (§177). In 1761 he tried to collect the

custom duties in America by using search warrants, called Writs of Assistance, for smuggled goods. This enraged the people, 56 but he got very little money. He sent the navy to suppress smuggling, but injured the trade with the West Indies. Still he got little revenue.

181. The Stamp Act. America might have submitted to these acts if England had not passed the Stamp Act. This was a direct tax⁵⁷ on legal and business documents and newspapers. No one could even get married without paying the tax. The money was to support ten thousand troops to be kept in the colonies. The people at once cried out, "Taxation without representation is tyranny."

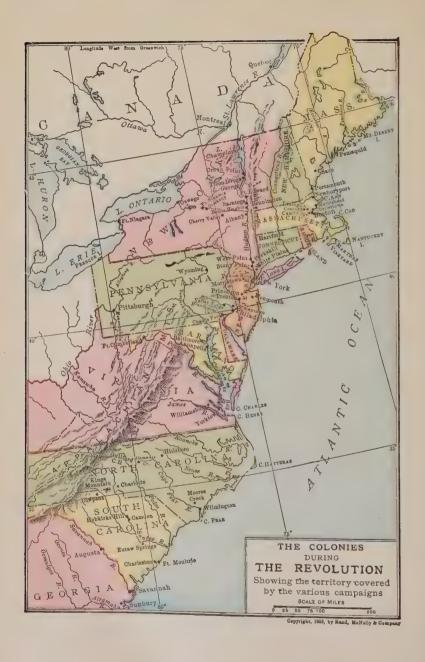
Patrick Henry of Virginia denounced the law, declaring before the burgesses: "Caesar had his Brutus; Charles I his Cromwell, and George III—" "Treason!" shouted the speaker—"may profit by their example."



PATRICK HENRY ADDRESSING THE HOUSE OF BURGESSES

The bolder men in the colonies formed the "Sons of Liberty," while the merchants made non-importation





agreements. The colonists made agreements among themselves that they would not import any goods from



RESISTANCE TO THE STAMP ACT

England and would not use any articles that came from that country. The British merchants were hard hit; they felt that Parliament had gone too far.

Mobs in America rushed about the streets, riding stamp agents on rails and crying, "Liberty, property, and no stamps." In New York a torchlight parade carried figures of the royal governor and Satan and burned them in the governor's presence.

182. The Stamp Act Congress (1765). The growing feeling of union demanded a congress. Delegates⁵⁸ from nine colonies met in New York. They asserted that the colonists were Englishmen; that they could not be represented in Parliament, and that they could be taxed only by their own assemblies. They sent an address to the king and a petition to Parliament. Gadsden declared: "There ought to be no New England man, no New Yorker, known on this continent, but all of us Americans."

183. Parliament repeals the tax (1766). The Whigs of England were now stirring. Englishmen stormed Parliament demanding the repeal of the act. ⁵⁹ Pitt declared that he "rejoiced that America resisted." Lord Camden, a great judge, agreed with the Americans, and Burke spoke against the folly of such a law. Lord Rockingham, now prime minister, introduced a resolution repealing the Stamp Act. Had it not been for the Whigs, the law would very likely not have been repealed. America and England were ablaze with bonfires! Whigs in both countries rejoiced in the victory.

184. The Townshend Acts (1767). Still England got little money from America. Townshend put duties on paper, tea, paints, and on other articles wanted by the colonists. Parliament took away the powers of the New York assembly for refusing to quarter British troops. The old spirit of the colonies flamed up in opposition.



SAMUEL ADAMS

In his "Letters of a Farmer" John Dickinson of Pennsylvania declared that "we cannot be free without being secure in our property." Samuel Adams, the "firebrand of the Revolution," sent out a ringing "circular letter" to all the other colonies. He called on them to unite against the new taxes. The king ordered Massachusetts to recall the circular letter and the other colonies to treat it with contempt. Not a single colony

obeyed the king.⁶¹ Two regiments of soldiers were ordered to Boston to enforce the Townshend Acts.

185. Outbreaks in the colonies. In New York the king's soldiers and the Sons of Liberty had a skirmish

called the Battle of Golden Hill. In Boston (1770) several citizens were shot by soldiers. This is known as the Boston Massacre. In Rhode Island the people seized and burned the king's vessel, the "Gaspee." These events stirred the people.

186. The committees of secret correspondence. George III had found a man, Lord North, who managed Parliament and did his bidding. North



FREDERICK, LORD NORTH, EARL

repealed all taxes but the small one of three pence per pound on tea. Still the merchants held to their "boycott" against English goods, but the tea ships were coming to America anyway.

To keep the patriots posted, on motion of Samuel Adams, committees were appointed in the towns of Massachusetts to correspond with each other (1772). In a short time Paul Revere was carrying the news from Boston to the other towns. In Virginia the burgesses named a committee to carry on a like work with all the assemblies on the continent (1773).

i87. The Boston Tea Party. Events were moving rapidly. The committees had been formed none too soon. Tea ships were on their way to the colonies. In Boston the ships refused to take the tea back to England.

Seven thousand people met at the call of the committee. They overflowed the Old South Meeting House to



THE BOSTON TEA PARTY ABOARD THE SHIP IN THE HARBOR

hear speeches by Samuel Adams and by other patriots. Candles were brought in, and finally word came that the governor had refused to permit the ships to go back. Just as the meeting was dismissed, the war whoop

of the "Mohawks" was heard from the gallery and from the streets. The people poured out, rushed to the wharf, and saw the "Indians" dump the tea into the harbor. The next night Paul Revere started on his first long ride to carry the news to New York and Philadelphia. He listened to the cheering words as the patriots in these old towns resolved to stand by Boston.

188. The Intolerable Acts arouse America. England struck back quickly. The Port Bill cut off all trade with Boston. Her people suffered, but the other colonies sent food, clothing, and money. "Hold on and hold out to the last," said one of the many resolute letters to Boston.

The Regulating Act⁶² changed the Massachusetts' charter (§78). The governor was given the power to appoint and pay the leading officers in the colony. A third act was intended to make officers more fearless in doing their duty by providing that they be sent out of the

colony for trial for murder. A later act gave Quebec all the territory down to the Ohio River. This cut off the natural growth of the thirteen colonies.

General Gage, with four regiments, was ordered to enforce these acts and was told to arrest Samuel Adams and John Hancock (§103).

180. The First Continental Congress (1774). With the courageous words of Washington, "I will raise 1,000 men, subsist them at my own expense, and march myself at their head for the relief of Boston," still ringing

in people's ears, Congress met in Carpenters' Hall, Philadelphia. It was a noble band of patriots, fifty-five in number. All knew Washington through his deeds in the late war (§§168, 171). Samuel Adams and Richard Henry Lee, two firebrands of the Revolution, met for the first time.

Here, too, met the two greatest orators of the Revolution, Patrick Henry and John Adams. Gentle John Dickinson, author of "Letters of a Farmer"(§184) and Roger Sherman, who rose from



the shoemaker's bench to be a judge, were of that band. New York sent her merchant prince, Philip Livingston, and John Jay, a Huguenot and a man learned in the law. From South Carolina came John Rutledge, a famous lawyer, and Christopher Gadsden, a scholar and a patriot.

190. The work of Congress. Union against the Tory



THE FIRST PRAYER IN CONGRESS

king and Parliament was the highest sentiment of Congress. And yet its members sent appeals to king and Parliament. Their most important paper was a Declaration of Rights

(§156).63 They again declared that the Americans were Englishmen (§182); that they could not be taxed except by their own assemblies, but that Americans would submit to all laws for the raising of money to regulate the trade of the whole empire.

Congress took a mighty step forward when it adopted the non-importation agreement for the country. It left to the committees of correspondence the duty of carrying out this act (§186). This has been pointed to as the birth of the American Union. Congress finally agreed to stand by Boston and meet force with force if necessary.

191. Chatham talks with Franklin. The king and his party were more determined than ever when they got word from this Congress. But the friends of America were more awake than ever. William Pitt, now Earl of Chatham, the old friend of the colonies, sent for Franklin.⁶⁴

They talked over the situation in America, and no doubt Franklin gave him the papers issued by Congress.

Chatham introduced a bill to recall the troops from Boston and made a powerful speech in its favor, but it was defeated. He immediately introduced his plan of conciliation. It took into account the ten years in the growth of union between the colonies. It repealed every act of taxation opposed by the Americans, but it recognized the right of Parliament to pass laws for the whole empire.

192. Burke's efforts. Burke, the greatest statesman of his time, was a friend of the colonies and had been the agent in England of the colony of New York. He probably knew more about conditions in America than did any other Englishman. He had denounced the Stamp Act and now spoke with equal force against the taxation of the Americans. His most eloquent plea in the House of Commons was his speech on conciliation.

But his efforts, like Chatham's, were voted down by the Tory party. Lord North brought in a plan which Parliament approved. It proposed to take up the case of each colony by itself, thus ignoring the union that had grown up. Lord North was too late with his plan. The colonies were ready to fight.

THE AMERICANS BEGIN TO FIGHT

193. Lexington and Concord (April 19, 1775). General Gage was in a tight place. If he did nothing, the Tories in England and America would blame him. If he acted, the Whigs here and at home would denounce him. He secretly sent a force to destroy some military stores at Concord, eighteen miles from Boston, and to capture Samuel Adams and John Hancock (§188).

Paul Revere was on the watch (§186). The British were scarcely over the river before Revere was riding hard to alarm the people with the cry: "The regulars are coming!" Fifty minutemen ⁶⁵ stood on the village green at Lexington when Major Pitcairn, at the head of his troops, cried: "Disperse, ye rebels!" Shots were fired and ten Americans fell.

The British pushed on to Concord, where more minutemen had collected. There they destroyed some military



RETREAT OF THE BRITISH REGULARS TO BOSTON

stores. At the North Bridge a battle took place, and the British turned back toward Lexington. The Americans poured in a hot fire from behind houses, fences, and trees. Reënforcements came to the British, but they only made more marks for the minutemen. The Americans chased the British right under the muzzle of the cannon in Boston harbor. The British lost almost three times as many men as the Americans.

The news stirred England. To think that American farmers had beaten the British regulars! The news flew



THE BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL



to distant parts of the colonies, and everywhere it was met by preparations for war. It reached Europe and raised up friends for liberty.⁶⁶

Just before leaving England Franklin said to Chatham: "I never heard from any person the least expression of a wish for separation." Thomas Jefferson declared: "There is not in the British Empire a man who more cordially loves a union with Great Britain than I do." Washington also said that "no such thing as independence is desired by any thinking



A BRITISH REGULAR

man in America" (1774). These sentiments did not mean that Americans would not fight for their rights as Englishmen. Englishmen at home had often fought for

the same rights (§156).

195. The siege of Boston. Battle of Bunker Hill. In a few days Boston was surrounded by the minutemen of New England. Colonel Prescott, leading a thousand men, fortified Breed's Hill. They were reënforced by those brave souls, Putnam, Stark, and Warren.

Gage sent Howe with three thousand men to storm the fort (June 17). The British marched up the slope in solid column, flags flying and drums beating. "Don't fire," said Prescott, "till you see the whites of their eyes."



Twice the British were beaten back by the deadly fire of the Americans, but with true English pluck they made



THE BATTLE GROUND OF THE MINUTEMEN

a third trial. The minutemen's ammunition was gone and they retreated, fighting stubbornly with clubbed rifles.

The loss to the British was 1,054, more than one-third of the attacking force. The Americans lost 449.67 The colonies hailed Bunker Hill as a victory.

rg6. Washington takes command. Massachusetts, a Puritan colony, and Virginia, the colony of the Cavaliers, were ringleaders in the war. Hancock was made president of the Continental Congress and Washington the commander-in-chief of the American armies.

As Washington started for Boston congressmen and citizens rode out with him. The trip was scarcely begun when they heard the news from Bunker Hill. When Washington heard how the minutemen had fought he declared: "The liberties of the country are safe." In New York Washington promised to work for the restoration of good feeling. He received a rousing welcome from the boys at Yale College. On July 3, he took command of the

army at Cambridge and went to work to make a real army out of these men. Congress ordered men from as far south as Virginia⁶⁸ to make the army a continental one.

197. The Americans fail at Quebec and succeed at Boston. Many people hoped that Canada would join the colonies. But in an expedition against Quebec Montgomery was killed, Arnold wounded, and Morgan captured. The soldiers suffered untold hardships.

Washington had wanted to strike a blow, but ammunition was scarce. Ethan Allen captured Ticonderoga and sent its cannon and powder to Boston. One night in the midst of a terrific cannonade, two thousand Americans occupied and began to fortify Dorchester Heights. Howe (§105) remembered Bunker Hill and decided not to attack. He put his soldiers and a thousand Tory citizens on board his ships and sailed away for Halifax.



A COLLEGE WELCOME AT YALE

New England was now free. A little later the British gained a foothold at Newport, Rhode Island.

SUGGESTED READINGS

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Fiction: Catherwood, Story of Tonty; Henty, With Wolfe in Canada; Monroe, At War With Pontiac; Seawell, A Virginia Cavalier; Longfellow, Evangeline; Holmes, Ballad of the Boston Tea Party, Grandmother's Story; Longfellow, Paul Revere's Ride; Cooper, Sir Lionell Lincoln; Bryant, Green Mountain Boys, Seventy-Six.

PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. Write an essay about the Indians at the Albany Congress; another on Benjamin Franklin. 2. Visit Washington's home and tell what you hear about him. 3. You are a banished Acadian. Write a letter to an English officer in your old home. 4. Imagine yourself an English traveler in the colonies at the time of the Boston Tea Party and write a number of letters to England. 5. Get permission to go with Paul Revere on his first ride. Report what you saw and heard for a New York paper. 6. Write the history of William Pitt and the English Whigs in their efforts to prevent the war.

CHAPTER IX

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE RIGHTS OF MAN

THE MOVEMENT TOWARD INDEPENDENCE

198. The king a cause of separation. The king had stubbornly refused all offers of conciliation both by England and by America. But Congress sent him one more petition, the "Olive Branch," it was called. George III scorned it, declared the Americans rebels, and hired Hessians from Hesse in Germany to fight them. ⁶⁹

Many of the young men of England had refused to join the king's army to fight their brethren in America. Some of the king's officers had resigned, although they gave up life positions. But the king was determined. His conduct drove thousands of Americans to resolve that if they must fight it were better to fight for the rights of man.

- 199. Public opinion divided. The great majority of Americans had favored fighting for the rights of Englishmen. But when they saw their houses burned and their fathers and sons slain, many of the bolder ones demanded separation. The more conservative ones drew back from this step and began to side with the king. They could not think of giving up their friends in England and of breaking every tie that bound them to the mother country. Such people lived in every colony. They were among the richest and most highly educated citizens. They were called Tories.
- **200.** Steps toward independence. Just after the battle of Lexington, Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, threw off the king's authority.⁷⁰ Thomas Paine struck a

telling blow in his pamphlet, "Common Sense": "The appeal was the King's . . . If you say you can pass the violations over, then I ask, hath your house been burnt? Have you lost a parent or child by their hand?"

In the spring (1776) the people everywhere were debating the question of independence. Virginia, holding a great convention, gave her delegates in Congress orders to introduce a resolution favoring independence.



SIGNING THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

201. The Declaration of Independence. Richard Henry Lee (§189), obeying the orders from Virginia, introduced in Congress the resolution asserting that "these United Colonics are and of right ought to be free and independent states."

Congress appointed Jefferson, John Adams, Franklin, Sherman, and Robert R. Livingston a committee to draw up a declaration. Jefferson was its author. He produced a document that ranks with Magna Charta (§156). It contains the rights of man, the causes of the

separation, and the declaration that all political connection with Great Britain is, and ought to be totally dissolved. "In support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor" (see Appendix).

202. How it was received. On July 4 Congress adopted the Declaration and sent it forth. The patriots hailed it with delight. The army received it with cheers and the firing of cannon. It was sent to England and published on the Continent in different European languages.

All the great nations were ruled by kings and emperors. Not many people in Europe believed that a republic could live. No one could accept the teachings of the Declaration of Independence and still believe in kings and emperors. The majority of Europeans looked upon the patriots as foolhardy and bound to be hanged as rebels.

203. What the Tories thought. The Tories did not want a republic. They looked upon the patriots as a low class determined to run the country. The Tories feared for their property (§199) and threw in their lot with the king. Thousands of them joined the king's forces. Probably they included one-third of the people in the colonies. The Continental Congress ordered all arms to be taken from them. Hundreds were driven to Canada and to other countries. To Some went back to England to live. The Tories made the war longer and more bitter. The Quakers were opposed to war for religious reasons (§101).

204. What the Declaration meant in the war. When the Declaration was made the Americans changed their purpose in the war: now it was a struggle for the rights of man. Every patriot could have said to Great Britain:

"We are sorry to part from you, but your king72 and your Parliament have driven us to this course by taxing us without our consent, by changing our charters (§188), by closing our ports, by hiring Hessians to kill us, and by refusing to listen to our last appeal (§108). Our struggle from now on is for an independent nation " THE BRITISH TRY TO BREAK THE POWER Clint u Peckskill OF THE MIDDLE STATES 205. Battle of Brooklyn Heights. Retreat up the Hudson. Washington set out from Boston to go to New York. Howe 78 landed his army on Long Island and defeated the Americans. Washington withdrew to New York and retired up the Hudson, since Howe's men outnumbered his almost two to one. But the New York Americans checked SANDY HOOK THE MILITARY MOVE-MENTS IN THE MIDDLE COLONIES, 1776-78 Monmouth ourt House

Howe for a short time in the battles of Harlem Heights and of White Plains, then took a strong position nearby.

206. Dark days of the war. Washington saw that the British were aiming to capture the "rebel capital,"



WASHINGTON AND HIS TROOPS CROSSING THE DELAWARE

Philadelphia. He threw his army across the Hudson, retreated through Newark and other New Jersey towns, and then crossed the Delaware. Congress took flight to Baltimore, and Philadelphia began to hide its gold and silver. The people began to lose hope, soldiers in large numbers left the army, and the British generals thought that the war was over. The people did not yet know Washington.

207. Victories at Trenton and Princeton. General Cornwallis left his troops in Trenton while he spent Christmas in New York. Washington saw his chance. The Hessians had been drinking all day. The weather was biting cold, and snow was falling fast. "Surely," thought the half-tipsy Hessians, "there is no need to watch tonight." But Washington and his men had crossed the Delaware amid floating ice. They were

pressing toward Trenton. Their feet left bloodstains on the snow. The sleepy Hessians were aroused at daybreak.



WASHINGTON LEADS AGAINST BRITISH LINES
AT PRINCETON

A few shots, a wild charge, and all was over! One thousand Hessians surrendered. It was a famous victory.

Congress could not pay Washington's

men. Their families at home were suffering. Washington appealed to his friend Robert Morris,⁷⁴ of Philadelphia. He obtained the money needed, and the Americans were ready to fight again.

Washington had posted his men behind a little river as Cornwallis was rushing back from New York to attack. "We will bag the old fox in the morning," said the British general. Washington left his fires burning brightly to deceive the British, and in the morning he was thundering at Cornwallis' rear guard at Princeton (January 3, 1777).75

208. Effects on Washington. He was now named the "American Fabius," after a famous Roman general who retreated to save his army and fought when he could win a victory. Both in Europe and in America men now saw that England had a gigantic task to defeat Washington. Congress gave him power to raise troops to serve for the war. Lafayette and De Kalb, with other French officers, came to join his army. Pulaski and Kosciusco, brave Poles, had already arrived.

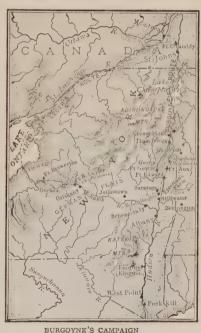
209. The battle of Brandywine and the winter at Valley Forge. Would Howe go up the Hudson to meet Burgoyne, or would he try for Philadelphia once more? Howe sailed for the head of the Chesapeake, and Washington hastened to throw his troops between the British and Philadelphia. Washington was beaten in the two battles of Brandywine and Germantown.

He took post at Valley Forge, where his men suffered terribly from hunger and cold. Lafayette said that "they had neither coats, hats, shirts, nor shoes; their feet and legs froze black." The British, on the other hand, were

feasting and drinking in Philadelphia and New York and "living off the fat of the land."

There were two bright spots at Valley Forge: one was the presence of Mrs. Washington and other ladies who came to cheer the men: the other was the constant drilling which Baron Steuben gave the army.

210. Burgoyne's campaign (1777). While Howe was on his way to Philadelphia, Burgoyne was coming with eight thousand men from Canada toward Albany.



St. Leger was sent up the St. Lawrence to cross over to Fort Stanwix,76 come down the Mohawk, and join Burgoyne. The British captured Ticonderoga but got tangled up in the deep woods where the brave General Schuyler had cut great trees across the roads and broken down bridges. When Burgoyne reached Fort Edward his men were hungry. He sent a thousand Hessians to Bennington to get supplies. But General Stark and his minutemen captured the whole lot near Bennington. General Herkimer with his riflemen routed St. Leger and his Indians in the terrible battle of Oriskany.

211. Burgoyne forced to surrender. Kosciusco (§208) had fortified Bemis Heights, and Washington had sent Arnold and Morgan to help Schuyler. Just as victory was within Schuyler's grasp Congress sent the incompetent Gates to take command. Two terrific battles were fought at Freeman's farm. Burgoyne's supplies were now cut off, and he surrendered his army at Saratoga October 17, 1777.

HOW FRANCE CAME TO OUR AID .

212. Immediate effects of Burgoyne's surrender. The Americans were happy over the victory. Many of them thought Gates was a greater general than Washington. The Conway Cabal⁷⁸ was hatched while Washington's army was suffering at Valley Forge. This was a miserable plot to displace Washington, but it came to nothing.

The destruction of Burgoyne's army was the turning point in the war because it brought France to our aid.

213. Early relations with France. Frenchmen had long been finding fault with their kings. Those who did not think much about the way they were ruled rejoiced when England and the colonies began to quarrel.

Among the French were great writers who sympathized with the Whigs of England and the Whigs in America.

The king of France was opposed to "helping rebels," he said, but he burned to have revenge for the Seven Years' War (§175). At the time of the passage of the Stamp Act he sent Baron de Kalb to spy out America, talk with the colonists, and report to him. De Kalb told the truth when he said that the colonies were very loyal to England.

the French king. He told the men of the Congress (1775) that France would send engineers, arms, and ammunition. Just before the Declaration of Independence was signed Vergennes, acting for his king, sent \$1,000,000 to Congress. Franklin now went to France. No other American had ever been so popular in Paris. He was already known by his quaint sayings in *Poor Richard's Almanac*, by his discovery that lightning and electricity

are the same thing, and by the high position he had held in London. His learning attracted the attention of educated people, and his simple manners and plain dress made him the idol of the common people of France. The French called the American soldiers "Franklin's troops."

The work of Franklin soon began to show: France gave \$400,000 per year to be paid back after independence had



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

been won, three ships laden with war supplies, and the right for Americans to fit out privateers in French ports

and to bring captured ships into these ports to sell them. The king would not do these things openly, for England was watching.

JEAN PAUL LAFAYETTE

America grows. Franklin helped turn public sentiment in favor of America. The nobles were pressing for open support of America, but the king held back because he did not like to set a bad example before his own people. He already saw the growth of ideas among Frenchmen that might endanger his own crown some day.⁷⁹ He did not like to hear Franklin

praised. He commanded Lafayette not to go to America, but the king's wife bade him go. The merchants and farmers liked the Americans because there were neither kings nor nobles in that country.

216. The French alliance (1778). When the news reached France that Burgoyne had surrendered his whole army, the people were wild with joy. The king now saw that America would succeed and felt that France must reap some benefit from her success. The two nations formed an alliance.

France recognized the independence of the United States, and both nations promised to continue the war until England also recognized our independence. This was the real turning point of the war. It brought to our aid a great, powerful nation with ships, supplies, soldiers, and money. It is difficult to see how America

could have won her independence without the help of France.

217. England alarmed. The news of Burgoyne's surrender stirred England to the center, but the French alliance excited her even more. Lord North begged the king to permit him to resign and to call Lord Chatham to the head of the government, but George III was too stubborn. The Rockingham Whigs were in favor of granting independence to America, and a motion was made to that effect (§183). If the king had been willing, Chatham would have repealed all taxes and have taken every British soldier out of America. As much as Americans loved him, it is doubtful if Chatham could have persuaded them to throw overboard their new ally.

218. Other nations enter the war. Spain, too, hesitated about setting a bad example before the common man,

but in 1778 she joined the French. The French and the Spanish fleets together were larger than the English, and England was kept busy defending Gibraltar and her colonies in the East and West Indies.

British leavePhiladelphia



When the British army heard that a great French (1778).fleet was on its way to America, it left Philadelphia (§209) for New York in hot haste. its heels and attacked it at



JOHN PAUL JONES

Washington was hard on Monmouth. He handled the British so roughly that they left for New York that night.80 The campaign for the middle states had ended where it began, but with tables completely turned. Then the British had chased Washington out of New York; and now he was chasing them into New York.

220. The American navy (1775-81). The navy of Great Britain was the most powerful in the world. When the war broke out the colonies had

no navy. They began to arm small vessels and send them out as privateers. These scoured the seas and captured so many British merchant ships that insurance rates for the latter became very high.

That great sea captain John Barry, an Irishman, came to high command by fighting on privateers. So did Paul Jones, a Scotchman.

221. France fits Paul Jones for a great sea victory (1779). The biggest victory at sea in the Revolution was won by Paul Jones. He had already won the name of "pirate" by attacking British shipping. Franklin obtained a small fleet for him. His biggest vessel was the "Bon Homme Richard." I Jones met the English ship "Serapis" and fought far into the night. He tied the





FRANKLIN AT THE COURT OF LOUIS XVI

two ships together. The decks of both were covered with the dead and dying. "Have you struck your colors?" called out the British captain. "I have not yet begun to fight," replied Jones. Both vessels took fire, and the British surrendered. The "Bon Homme Richard" sank the next day, and Jones sailed into a French port in the captured "Serapis." He was received with great joy by the French people.

IRREGULAR WARFARE

- 222. Wyoming and Cherry valleys (1778). Washington was watching the British in New York. He was roused by the Tories and Indians massacring the people in Wyoming and Cherry valleys. Washington ordered General Sullivan to take five thousand men and punish the enemy. He defeated them completely on the site where Elmira now stands. He then laid waste the growing crops of the Cayugas and the Senecas.
- 223. Plundering by the British. Storming Stony Point and Paulus Hook. The British were now desperate. They had failed in two campaigns (§§210, 219) and had seen France come into the war (§216). They turned to robbing and burning towns in New England, New Jersey, and Virginia, as if to get even.

The British had captured Stony Point on the Hudson. Washington selected "Mad Anthony" Wayne to recapture it. Wayne, trained by Steuben (§209), took twelve hundred picked men and with empty guns and fixed bayonets charged up the steep slope of Stony Point. He won (1779).

Paulus Hook, a part of Jersey City, had been fortified by the British. Henry Lee, "Light Horse Harry," led three hundred picked men at night and captured it.

224. Benedict Arnold again. Washington had stood by Arnold (§197) because he was a brave soldier, but



THE STORMING OF PAULUS HOOK

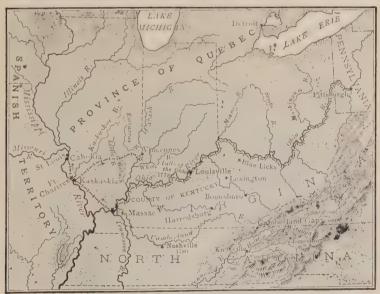
Congress refused to promote him. This angered Arnold, and he burned for revenge. Washington gave him command at West Point, but Arnold agreed to turn the position over to the British. Only the arrest of Major André, who had been sent to meet Arnold, saved West Point. André was hanged. Arnold escaped to the British where he was given his reward, a command in the British army.

THE WAR IN THE WEST AND SOUTH

225. The Revolution west of the Alleghenies. The Kentucky country belonged to Virginia (§167). Daniel Boone lived in North Carolina, but he went to Kentucky (1769) by way of Cumberland Gap (§27), where three states now meet. Harrodsburg (1774) and Boonesboro (1775) were established.

Tennessee, a part of North Carolina, was settled by James Robertson at Watauga (1770). Later a fort was built on the Nollichucky by the Indian fighter, John Sevier. The men of both regions organized as militia and were ready to fight the Indians, allies of Great Britain.

226. George Rogers Clark and our western boundary. Clark had been in Kentucky and had seen the dangers from the Indians. He resolved to capture the British posts northwest of the Ohio and put an end to these dangers. Governor Henry of Virginia supported his plan with money and good wishes. With about one hundred and fifty men Clark left Pittsburgh (May, 1778), halted on an island near Louisville, and then rowed down the



THE GEORGE ROGERS CLARK EXPEDITION

Ohio to the Tennessee. The men hid their boats, marched across the country, and captured Kaskaskia and Cahokia.

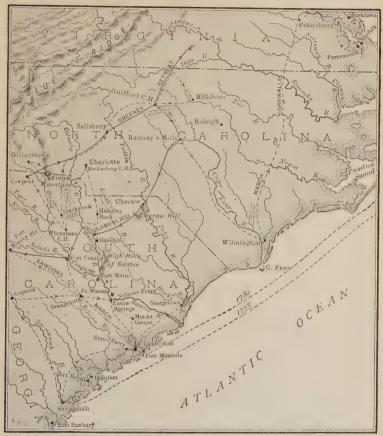
Clark made friends with the French and the Spaniards. Hamilton, the British commander in Detroit, came with five hundred men to reënforce Vincennes. Without waiting, Clark dashed across country in the winter. His men suffered terribly, since they marched for miles and miles through water. Hamilton was completely surprised by the assault on the fort and surrendered Vincennes after a short fight. The power of the British in the West was gone.

227. The British overrun the far South. Defeated in the North, the British determined to get a foothold in the South. They captured Savannah ⁸² and other towns (1778) and restored British authority. In the summer of 1779 a French fleet joined with General Lincoln in attacking the British, but they were defeated. Earlier a British fleet had been roughly handled at



THE ASSAULT AT THE BATTLE OF SAVANNAH

Charleston by Moultrie behind his fort of palmetto logs (1776). The British now marched overland from Savannah



CAMPAIGNS IN THE SOUTH DURING THE REVOLUTION

and captured the city with Lincoln and his army of three thousand men. Hundreds of people took the oath to support the king, and Clinton left Cornwallis to conquer the rest of the state.

228. A new kind of fighting. Marion,⁸³ Sumter, Pickens, and Williams now found a way of fighting even more puzzling to the British than the work of the minutemen.

With only small bands under them, they kept the enemy's forces in the Carolinas in constant terror. Armed with homemade swords, mounted on the swiftest horses, hiding in dense swamps or mountain fastnesses, they seldom slept two nights in the same camp. They would destroy a Tory camp at night and before daylight would be in some distant hiding-place; again they would sweep around the main British force, cutting off stragglers or charging pell-mell into their camp. But they were up and away before the British could recover from their surprise. In this manner these bold warriors kept alive the spirit of resistance.

229. The battle of Camden (1780). Congress sent Gates to redeem the South. De Kalb (§213) was busy collecting reënforcements for the Americans. Gates joined him, took charge, and met Cornwallis at Camden.



MARION SURPRISING A BRITISH CAMP

Gates and the militia fled at the first fire, but De Kalb and his Continentals gave the enemy one of Steuben's

headlong bayonet charges. De Kalb fell mortally wounded.⁸⁴ Gates by his cowardly act had lost the day.

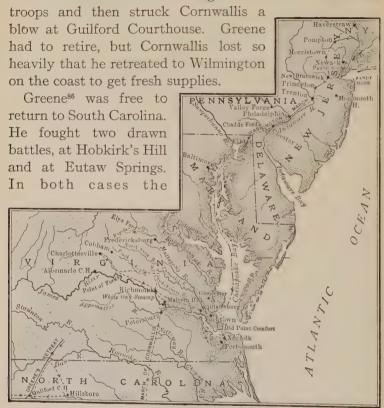


DE KALB AND THE MARYLAND AND DELAWARE CONTINENTALS AT CAMDEN

230. The backwoodsmen at King's Mountain (1780). Cornwallis was elated. He started for Charlotte, North Carolina. From there he sent Major Ferguson with twelve hundred men to rouse the Tories. News of this ran far and wide. Soon Ferguson found himself surrounded on King's Mountain by backwoodsmen from three or four states. They charged up the mountain side, killed Ferguson, and captured his entire force. The Americans lost twenty-eight. The victorious men went to their homes, but they had turned the tide in the South.

231. Greene takes command (1781). Washington was happy when General Greene took command in the South and Morgan was put at the head of the remnant of De Kalb's Continentals. Cornwallis sent his most daring officer, Tarleton, to catch Morgan, who had taken post at Cowpens. Morgan was too much for Tarleton and defeated and captured nearly his whole force. 85

Greene was a great "Fabius" (\$208). Knowing that Cornwallis would be furious, he began a famous retreat with Cornwallis after him. Across North Carolina they went and hurried on into Virginia. Greene rested his



THE WAR IN VIRGINIA

British retreated. The only places held by them in the South at the end of the war were Charleston and Savannah

232. Washington sees his opportunity. When Lord Cornwallis reached Yorktown from North Carolina,





WASHINGTON RESIGNING AS COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE ARMY

word came that a French fleet was bound for Chesapeake Bay. Washington immediately decided to rush the American and French armies⁸⁷ from New York (§219) to Yorktown. It was a bold decision. But he was halfway to Philadelphia before Clinton saw Washington was not planning to attack New York.

Philadelphia was wild with joy. Men crowded the streets cheering madly, and happy women threw flowers upon the dusty Continentals and the finely dressed French soldiers. "Long live Washington! He's gone to catch Cornwallis in his mouse trap!" cried the people.

233. Yorktown the final victory (1781). From the head of the Chesapeake the French fleet under Count de Grasse carried the army to Yorktown. For nearly a month the



CARRYING THE OUTER WORKS AT YORKTOWN

cannon from fleet and army knocked the British forts to pieces. The Americans and French stormed the outer works. The next night the British tried in vain to break out. On the very day that America was celebrating the anniversary of Burgoyne's surrender (October 17) Cornwallis raised the white flag. Two days later the British army, over seven thousand strong, marched out between parallel lines of Americans and Frenchmen. Washington was at the head of one line, and Count Rochambeau at the head of the other. The British played the old tune: "The World Turned Upside Down."

234. What Yorktown meant to America. America was wild with enthusiasm as the news spread. The Liberty Bell rang a joyous alarm, and soon the streets of Philadelphia were alive with people although it was two o'clock in the morning. Congress marched to the Lutheran church and gave thanks for the victory. On every village green in America the people celebrated the great event.

235. What the victory meant to France and England. A fast sailing vessel hastened to France. Paris was happy. Over seven thousand sons of France had joined hands with Washington to make victory sure. A thrill of hope must have shot through every heart that looked for better days in France.

The Tories of England were discouraged. Lord North threw up his hands, crying: "Oh God! It is all over!" But stubborn old George III declared that he would rather give up his crown and retire to Hanover (§180)88 than acknowledge American independence.

The Whig leaders rejoiced. It was a victory for the people of Great Britain. Richmond had long hoped for such a victory, and Fox clapped his hands with joy. The younger Pitt had a few months before denounced the war in strong language. Finally George III was compelled

to call to power again the Rockingham Whigs, the friends of America (§217).89 They made peace with America.

236. The treaty of peace (1783). Congress appointed Franklin, John Adams, Jay, and Henry Laurens to go to Paris to meet men from France and Great Britain. By the treaty (1) America was declared an independent nation; (2) the Mississippi was made our western boundary (§226) and the Great Lakes our northern; (3) and east of the Mississippi, Florida was made our southern limit (see map for fuller explanation).

237. Washington retires to Mount Vernon. When the British left New York, Washington and his army entered. Later he met his generals to say good-by. He said: "With a heart full of love and gratitude, I now take leave of you. I most devoutly wish that your latter days may be as prosperous and happy as your former ones have



WASHINGTON BIDS FAREWELL TO HIS GENERALS

been glorious and honorable." He took each general by the hand and embraced him. He then went to

Whitehall Ferry, waved his hat, and bade them a silent farewell as he started on his homeward journey.



MOUNT VERNON, THE HOME OF WASHINGTON

Washington traveled to Annapolis to meet Congress and resign his position. Standing room was all taken, and a great crowd looked down from the galleries. Congress sat with their hats on (§41). Washington said, "I now have the honor to surrender into your hands [Congress'] the trust committed to me, and to claim the indulgence of retiring from the service of my country." He refused all pay for his services of eight years, but the money of his own which he had spent was repaid.⁹⁰

He and Mrs. Washington hastened to Mount Vernon, where a happy scene met their eyes. There, leaning on his staff, was old Bishop, the gift of General Braddock. The other servants were happy in seeing their "Master" and "Mistress" once more. All Christmas afternoon people came to pay their "respects and duty." Among them were stately dames and gay young ladies. The war was over, and Washington gave himself to making Mount Vernon more beautiful than before. The next year Lafayette came from France to visit him and renew the friendship begun on the field of battle.

WOMAN'S PART IN THE REVOLUTION

238. What the people did at home. We have thought about armies and war so much that home things have been forgotten. Everybody felt the pinch of war, especially when armies came into their own neighborhoods. Everybody, too, had a part in it. Some had to join the army, and some had to care for the home folks. Sometimes the soldiers had to go home and help gather in the harvests, for the armies had to be fed. Clothing had to be made for the soldiers. Women had to work at their spinning wheels and looms much longer than in times of peace. Then, too, they had to help melt the lead to make bullets and had to cut gun "wads." 91

Then the men had to run their little forges or blacksmith shops to make the flintlock guns. There were no breech-loading guns nor machine guns in that day, only those loaded with ramrods.

There was no Red Cross then with its thousands of nurses to care for the soldiers. There were not many doctors to look after the sick or the wounded. But the war came home to people every time a battle was fought and there came a call for bandages and nurses. Sometimes, too, the soldiers of each army were sent to live among the different families of the town or city where the army happened to be.

239. Distinguished women of the Revolution. Women took a real part in the struggle. Hundreds of them distinguished themselves by doing deeds calling for courage and resolution.

One of the most famous women was Abigail Adams, wife of John Adams. She managed their little farm while her husband was in Congress or in Europe. Her letters to him were full of patriotism, even while the roar of British

guns sounded in her ears. In writing to him she made an appeal to him to have the Continental Congress favor woman suffrage.

Faith Trumbull, wife of the governor of Connecticut, was at church one day. The minister called for a collection for the Continental army. She arose beside the governor, removed from her shoulders a fine scarlet cloak, the gift of a great French general, and laid it on the altar as her gift. The donation was large that day! Hundreds of meetings of governors, generals, and committees of safety were held in her home during the Revolution.

Have you read the story of how Mrs. Murray played a trick upon the British? They were hot after Washington through New York City after the battle of Brooklyn Heights. She invited the British generals to tea in her splendid home. By the time the tea party was over, Washington was out of danger!

Brave Mollie Pitcher! Her husband loaded a cannon at Monmouth (§219). He was killed, and Mollie took his place and drove home shot and shell until the British retreated.

Lydia Darrah, a brave Philadelphia Quaker, saved Washington's army from a surprise attack and perhaps from capture. At her home one night the British officers laid their secret plans. She stole out of bed and overheard them. Early next morning she rode to Washington's camp at Whitemarsh and told an American officer of their plans. Washington and his men were ready!

The women of the South were just as brave and did the same kind of heroic deeds as did the women of the North. Indeed, had it not been for the noble self-sacrifice of the women of the Revolution, the war would have been much longer and harder to win.

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PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

I. Write about what France did for America. 2. Imagine yourself a member of the Continental Congress and write what you see and hear about the Declaration of Independence. Dramatize this event. 3. Report to your newspaper on the activity of Franklin in France. 4. You are a spy in Philadelphia (1776-78). Write to Washington at Valley Forge what you see and hear. 5. Tell, in a few pages, the story of Alice of Old Vincennes. 6. Washington is at Mount Vernon again. He is happy and receives visitors. Lafayette visits him. Dramatize these events.

CHAPTER X

THE NEED FOR A STRONGER GOVERNMENT

AN EXPERIMENT IN STATE SOVEREIGNTY

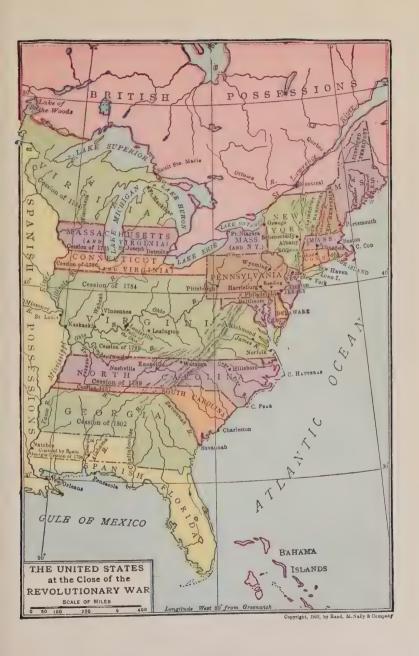
240. Making colonies into states. Before the Declaration of Independence was signed royal governors began to run away from the danger they saw coming. Their governments fell to pieces, and the people of the colonies set up committees of safety. These committees managed things until a governor was chosen or until the people had elected their assembly.

The people of New Hampshire acted first (1776). The constitution was to be above laws made by the legislature and received its authority from the people of the state. Massachusetts was the last one of the states to set up a constitution (1780).

The people were not so democratic then as now, for only the constitutions of New York and of the New England states gave the people the right to vote for governor. Elsewhere he was chosen by the legislatures or by a council. The right to vote, too, was generally limited to men who paid taxes or held a certain amount of property (§158). In some cases voters still had to meet religious tests (§158).

New Jersey bears the distinction of having given women the right to vote. But this privilege was taken away in a few years.

241. Making the states into a confederation. For a long time we have seen the colonies growing together (§186). Benjamin Franklin thought the time ripe for a confederation and introduced a set of articles





(1775). Congress thought it too soon. Richard Henry Lee's motion for independence contained a proposition for a confederation (§201). But the more Congress discussed the question of confederation, the more it disagreed. On the question of independence the thirteen colonies could be one, but on the question of union among themselves they were still thirteen!

Not until Burgoyne's surrender did Congress agree on a plan (November, 1777). According to these Articles of Confederation the states were to be in authority above Congress. Congress now sent the Articles to the state legislatures for adoption. But not until just before the Battle of Yorktown did the last legislature ratify the Articles of Confederation (1781).92

242. The states supreme. The most striking fact about this new constitution was its weakness. But the people were afraid it was too strong. They had just finished a long, hard war with the strong government of England, and they did not now propose to set up one of the same kind in their own midst.

The Articles gave Congress only a little power. Congress could advise the states to raise so many men or so much money for Washington's army. The states, being supreme, could do as they pleased. By the Confederation each state had one vote in Congress. Thus Delaware was as important in Congress as Pennsylvania.

243. Industry and trade grow worse. At the close of the war Congress could not pay the army. It had borrowed money from France and Holland and from its own people. But it could not pay back these loans because Congress had no power to raise money by taxes. It was driven to making millions of paper currency or "continental" money.⁹³ But this was only promises to pay

money. The army in its despair threatened to attack Congress, but Washington prevented it. One of the



PAPER MONEY ISSUED BY CONGRESS DURING THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

officers proposed that Washington be made king, but he indignantly rejected the proposal.

244. Congress not able to protect our trade at home or abroad. Some states taxed goods brought in from other states. These states in turn "boycotted" the offending states. Men who manufactured goods complained because Congress had no power to lay a tariff to protect their trade from foreigners. Great Britain put a high tariff on American goods and also passed laws shutting out our trade from her West India markets.

Things were going from bad to worse. Several hundred soldiers, feeling deeply angered at Congress, marched on Philadelphia. Congress ran away to Princeton. In Massachusetts the people were resisting the courts because creditors were suing debtors for their money. A rebellion broke out, led by Daniel Shays (1786).

Leading men shook their heads, asking each other, "Will the Confederation break up in anarchy?"

EFFORTS FOR A STRONGER GOVERNMENT

245. Men who worked for a better government. The great majority of leaders favored a stronger government. Among them was Washington. He had not forgotten the bitter days of Trenton and Valley Forge! From 1783 to 1787 he was kept busy writing letters to men who wanted his opinions on the Confederation. To his own Governor Harrison he wrote: "An extension of federal power would make us one of the most wealthy, happy, and powerful nations on the globe." To his friend, John Jay, he answered: "I do not conceive that we can

long exist as a nation without a power which will pervade the whole union."

Alexander Hamilton, though a young man, stood next to Washington in arguing for a new plan of government. He wrote a famous letter on the defects of the Confederation (1780). He also published a paper called the *Continentalist*. In this he tried to turn men's minds toward a government of greater power.

James Madison, a young man of statesmanlike



ALEXANDER HAMILTON

notions, worked hard for a better government. Besides these, there were many in almost every state in favor

of improving the Articles of Confederation. Many things were working in the same direction.

- 246. Spain tries to close the Mississippi (1786). When Louisiana fell to Spain (§176), she controlled the greater part of what is now the United States. We had for a long time claimed the right to use the Mississippi River to the Gulf. The Spanish now offered to give our merchants trading privileges in Spain and in the West Indies if we would give up our right to use the Mississippi. Jefferson wrote: "I will venture to say that the act which abandons the navigation of the Mississippi is an act of separation between the eastern and western country." The settlers west of the Alleghenies threatened to secede if Congress gave away their right to use the Mississippi. This situation called for a more powerful government.
- 247. Western state lands given to the Confederation. Congress delayed long over the question of what to do with the western lands. It was a most happy solution to give them to the Confederation. All the states having claims patriotically gave them up on two conditions: (1) that the land be disposed of for the common benefit; (2) that this region be cut up into "distinct republican states."

Two states kept a portion. Virginia kept Kentucky and a region in Ohio to pay her soldiers, and a small tract in Indiana, called Clark's Grant, to reward men of the Vincennes expedition (§226). Connecticut kept a part of Ohio known as the Western Reserve. Congress surveyed and opened up the rest of this land to the soldiers of the Revolution.

248. The old Northwest Territory. "A region of rich soil, great forests, beautiful prairies, splendid lakes and rivers, and inhabited by Indians and wild animals from

the quail, prairie hen, and wild turkey to the squirrel and the buffalo." This region took in the future states of

Indiana, Illinois, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, and part of Minnesota. Settlers poured in from the South and from New England.

One of the wisest and one of the last acts of the Congress of the Confederation was to give this region the Ordinance of 1787. This contained four main provisions: (1) It laid the foundation of our government of (2) It territories. prohibited negro slavery. (3) It gave religious freedom to all settlers. (4) It declared in favor of encourag-



ing forever the means of education. Every state now had a strong bond tying it to the Union.

249. Commerce leads the way to constitutional conven-After meeting with Washington (1785) to talk tions.

over trade, delegates from Maryland and Virginia decided to call a great trade convention at Annapolis (1786). Only five states sent delegates to this meeting, but among those present were Madison, Hamilton, and Dickinson. These men sent out a call for a convention to revise the Articles of Confederation.

Congress hesitated to act, but when the news of Shays' rebellion came, it joined in the call. Washington had held back at first, but now the crisis had come, and he decided to go.⁹⁴ All the states but Rhode Island sent delegates to this convention.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

250. The great men of the Convention. Fifty-five men took part in making the Constitution. These men were well fitted to do their work. Twenty-nine were college graduates, and many had served in Congress, in the army, or abroad. The four master-minds of the Convention were Washington, Franklin, Hamilton, and Madison. Washington was chosen president.

Other men already famous were John Dickinson (§184); William Paterson, author of the New Jersey plan; Roger Sherman and Ellsworth of Connecticut; Gouverneur Morris and James Wilson of Pennsylvania; Mason and Randolph of Virginia; Davis of North Carolina; and the Pinckneys and John Rutledge of South Carolina.

251. Disobeying orders. Most of the states had commanded their delegates to revise the Articles. But the Convention went to work on a new plan worked out by Madison. It favored the large states. It made the number of representatives and senators from each state depend upon its population. The small states were soon up in arms. They still wanted equal representation in Congress

(\$242). They favored the New Jersey plan, which only amended the Confederation.

Disputes arose, and Washington asked: "If to please the people we offer what we ourselves disapprove, how can we afterwards defend our work?" Franklin declared that he had lived long enough to know that "God governs in the affairs of men," and that they "had come together to consult and not to contend." In the meantime the delegates from Connecticut brought in a compromise providing that all the states be equal in one house, the Senate, and that in the other house, they should be represented according to population. This arrangement pleased the small states and was adopted.

252. Other compromises. A contest arose between the slave and the free states over representation and direct taxation. The Convention decided to add three-fifths of the slaves to the whites in any state to fix the number of representatives it should have and the amount of direct taxes it should pay.

A third dispute arose over commerce. The northern states wanted commerce regulated by a majority vote of Congress. But the southern states were afraid that laws would be made against their export trade (§142). It was finally agreed that Congress must not tax exports, but should control both our foreign and home trade by a simple majority. The foreign slave trade was permitted to go on for twenty years longer.

253. A bundle of compromises. Some one has declared the Constitution to be a "bundle of compromises." We have seen the Convention compromising between the large and small states, the free and slave states, the commercial and farming states. There were many other compromises, such as between those wanting the people

to vote directly and others who wanted the people to vote only indirectly. Only in the case of representatives



were the people to vote directly. Senators were not to be voted for directly, but were to be elected by their own state legislatures. The presidents were to be voted for indirectly, and the judges of the Federal courts were to be appointed by the president.

254. The last days of the Convention. Gouverneur Morris could write plain, strong English. To him, therefore, was given the task of writing the Constitution in its final form.

Only thirty-nine members signed it. A few had gone home angry while others refused to sign for various reasons.

On the last day Franklin, looking at Washington's chair on which were painted the bright rays of a half-sun, said: "I have often, in the course of the session, looked at that sun without being able to tell whether it is rising or setting. Now I know it is a rising and not a setting sun."

THE STATES RATIFY THE CONSTITUTION

255. Why some great men opposed the Constitution. The Convention sat with closed doors, and the people did not know exactly what kind of a government had been made. Some feared that too much power had been

given to the nation and that the states would lose their importance. Would not the president become a king? At least there was no Bill of Rights in the Constitution (\$156).

256. How the states voted. The states elected delegates to state conventions which were to accept or reject the Constitution. There were many hot debates in these conventions. Delaware won the double honor of not only being the first to ratify, but of doing it unanimously. Both New Jersey and Georgia came under the "New Roof," as the Constitution was called, by a unanimous vote.97 But the friends of the new government had hard fighting to get it ratified in Massachusetts, Virginia,

and New York. North Carolina and Rhode Island did not ratify until after the election of Washington.

The best arguments in favor of the Constitution were found in a newspaper written by Hamilton, Madison, and Jay. These articles took up the Constitution point by point and explained it to the people.98

Richard Henry Lee of Virginia, wrote the most important



arguments against the Constitution. These were called the "Letters of a Federal Farmer."

257. Celebrating the Fourth of July in Philadelphia Nowhere were the people happier than in the (1788).



City of Brotherly Love when the good news came that Virginia was the tenth state to ratify the Constitution. They celebrated in grand style. Salutes were fired at sunrise, and the bells of the city rang a noisy welcome to the day as five thousand persons gathered for the parade. "Every trade, every business, every occupation of life was represented." When the procession ended, James Wilson (§250), a great friend of the Constitution, gave a stirring, patriotic oration. The rejoicing went on far into the night.

This was a fitting celebration of the greatest event of the American Revolution by a city that had seen the meeting of the First Continental Congress, the signing of the Declaration of Independence, and the meeting of the Constitutional Convention.

IMPORTANT POINTS IN THE CONSTITUTION

258. The new Congress or the legislative department. The old Congress had but one house, but the new Congress has two. The old represented the states, but the new, the people. The members of the lower house of Congress are elected by the people of the states every two years. From this fact it may turn out that the representatives are of one party while the president belongs to another. To the lower house is given the right to originate money bills. This is an ancient custom coming down to us from the English constitution.

The Senate is supposed to be conservative. Its members are required to be older. Then, too, they were elected by the state legislatures until 1917. The term is three times as long as a representative's. These points make men steady-headed and careful in their work. When the Senate is considering a treaty or the appointments to the cabinet or to the United States courts, it may go into secret session.

259. Important powers of Congress. The old Congress lacked the power to raise money by taxation (§242). The new Congress was given that power.

The Confederation could not raise an army or navy without permission of the states. Congress can do both.

Commerce at home and abroad was in a bad state under the old Congress, but now Congress can regulate trade with foreign nations and between the states.

Congress was given the power to coin money, a right it did not have before. The Constitution forbids the states to make money.

The most far-reaching powers granted Congress are what are called "implied powers." These powers are granted in a clause which declares that Congress may

make all laws necessary to carry into effect all powers granted by the Constitution to the new government. This clause stands next in importance to the so-called "Preamble" to the Constitution.

- 260. The president the head of the executive department. The old Confederation had no president. The Convention decided to take the governor of the states as a model for the president (§158). A few wanted the president to serve for life, but the majority wanted him for a seven years' term. They decided on four years with an opportunity for reëlection. How to choose president was a hard problem. The Convention finally decided in favor of electors chosen by each state, equal in number to the sum of its representatives and senators. The electors meet in each state and vote for a man to be president and for one for vice-president.
- 261. Some things the president may do. The president may help Congress make laws by signing them. If he does not sign the bill, it becomes a law after ten days. If he vetoes a bill, it does not become a law unless Congress passes it again by a two-thirds majority.

The great work of the president is to carry out the laws. For this purpose he has the cabinet, 101 with its many departments, and the army and the navy. The president's right to a cabinet is one of the implied powers of the Constitution (§284). He may call out the militia to suppress rebellion such as Shays' or Dorr's rebellion (§244). He can call upon United States troops to protect the mails, as in Cleveland's time.

The president, as commander-in-chief of the army and navy, in time of war has "war powers." These again are implied powers. The two most famous examples of the use of war powers are Lincoln's in the Civil War and

Wilson's in the great World War. No English king since George III has used so great power as did these two men of the people.

The president may make treaties and appoint ministers and judges of the United States courts, by the advice and consent of the Senate.

- 262. The United States courts, or the judicial department. The Confederation had no judges with the power to try men for breaking a law of Congress. Very few men in the Convention objected to having United States judges. They decided to make the judges a more conservative body than the Senate. In the first place, they removed them as far from politics as possible; they are nominated by the president and passed on by the Senate; they serve during good behavior and can be removed only by impeachment. Besides, their salaries cannot be cut down once they are in office.
- 263. Cases to be tried by United States courts. The following trials must take place in the United States courts: (1) if a difference between two or more states calls for a trial; (2) if a man in one state sues a citizen in another state; (3) if ambassadors or other foreign officers bring suit; (4) if any suit arises under the Constitution or laws made by Congress. It is easy to see that the persons named would probably get more perfect justice in a Federal than in a state court.
- 264. Officers of the courts. The attorney-general of the United States is a member of the cabinet. He may be looked upon as the head officer of the judicial department. Under him are the district attorneys, who begin and carry on cases coming before the courts. The Federal marshal acts as the sheriff of the courts to carry out their orders. He is also under the attorney-general.

265. Laws declared unconstitutional. Suppose Congress or the legislature of a state passes a law not permitted by the Constitution. What can be done about it? Some one may bring a suit before the court to test the law. The court will then declare the law is no law.

When the Supreme Court first declared a law unconstitutional, some men were alarmed. They feared that the court would become more powerful than Congress. They even denied that the Constitution gave the court this power. The right of a Federal court to declare a law unconstitutional is not expressed in so many words in the Constitution but is an implied power. The use of this power has had a good effect. It has made Congress more careful in making laws.

The courts of no other nation have this power. When the Parliament of Great Britain passes a law, no king can veto it and no court of the country can declare it null and void.

266. Amending the Constitution. The men who made the Constitution felt that it was not perfect and that with experience to help them, they would wish to correct the defects. Hence the makers proposed two ways of changing the Constitution. (1) If amendments pass both houses by a two-thirds vote, the proposed change is sent to the state legislatures or to state conventions. If three-fourths of the states approve the change, the amendment is added to the Constitution. (2) Or, if two-thirds of the legislatures of the states request it, Congress must call a national constitutional convention which may propose amendments. Such amendments, ratified by three-fourths of the states, become a part of the Constitution. Nineteen amendments have been made by the first plan, but none have been made by the second.

267. The first ten amendments. One of the most serious objections made to the Constitution in the ratifying conventions (§256) was that it contained no Bill of Rights. In the first Congress (1780) Madison introduced many amendments intended to correct this defect. When they had been passed upon by Congress and the states. there were only ten left. These ten amendments have been called our "Bill of Rights." Their purpose is to make sure that the government shall never take away the "personal liberties" of the people, such as freedom of religion, of speech, and of the press. The people are also protected in their right to assemble and petition for redress of grievances and in their right to a jury trial. The Ninth and Tenth Amendments were adopted to make clearer the line separating the powers of the Federal and the state governments.

SUGGESTED READINGS

References for teachers: Fiske, Critical Period of American History, 145-315; Elson, Side Lights on American History, 24-53; Lodge, Hamilton ("American Statesmen Series"), 68-78; Tyler, Patrick Henry, 266-300; Gay, Madison, 88-127; Hosmer, Samuel Adams, 389-401; Bassett, Short History, 240-254; McMaster, History of the American People, I, chaps. i-iv; Hart, Patriots and Statesmen, II, 153-361; Hart, Source Book, nos. 64-70; McLaughlin, Confederation and Constitution, chap. iii.

References for pupils: Hart, Formation of the Union, 104-133; Mace, George Washington, 140-152; Guitteau, Preparing for Citizenship, chap. xiii; Barstow, A New Nation, 3-24; Great Epochs in Ameri-

can History, IV, 51-64.

PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. Visit land grants in Indiana and Ohio and write home accounts of each. 2. Get letters from Washington, Patrick Henry, James Madison, and Samuel Adams on the Confederation. What does each think of a new government? 3. Dramatize the Constitutional Convention. 4. Attend one of the ratifying conventions and report the debates.

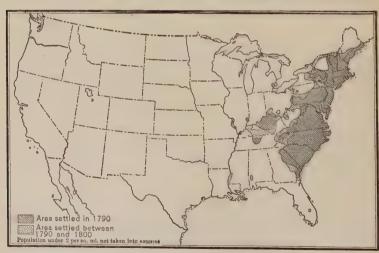
CHAPTER XI

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE NATION

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE (1790-1800)

268. The number of people in the United States (1790).

When Washington became president (1789) he was at the head of nearly four million people. As in colonial days, the great majority lived near the ocean and on farms. Only three persons in every hundred lived in cities (§108). The most important places were Philadelphia with 42,000 people; New York, with 33,000; Boston, 18,000; Charleston, 16,000; and Baltimore, 14,000. These were called cities then, but now they would hardly be



THE GROWTH OF SETTLED AREA IN 1700 AND 1800

looked upon as such. In spite of the war our people increased more than a million during that time.

- 269. The spirit of the American people. We have seen great changes in the colonists during their one hundred and fifty years in America (§107). Further changes were wrought by the Revolution. Americans were made more democratic by fighting an autocratic king and by driving many Tories out of the country. But we must not forget that Americans were not even then as democratic as we are today. They still clung to the idea that birth, wealth, and position give persons standing in life, although ability and character were more and more coming to the front.
- 270. Still imitating Europe. We had won our political independence but in many ways were still dependent upon Europe. We still loved English trade the best. Our fashions came from London, although our friendship for France brought in some French ways. But the French language stood in the way. Books were still few, and Americans read foreign authors. American poets and story-writers still imitated the English. Colleges and public schools, coming down from colonial days, were still English in their ways.
- 271. The Revolution and education. War always destroys. No new colleges sprang up during the Revolution and few public schools. Students had to go to war instead of going to school. Outside of the cities there were hardly any schools during the war. They were much like those of colonial days (§125). In harmony with the more democratic ways caused by the Revolution, girls were gradually admitted to public schools, and young women were permitted to teach both boys and girls.

But the long period of agitation and war produced a fine race of orators and writers. The public learned much by listening to them, or by reading what they wrote. Newspapers increased during this stormy time and led

the people in a political way.

272. Changes in religious life. Religious changes during colonial times had tended toward toleration (§130). The Revolution had started a nation-wide movement in favor of uniting all churches of the same faith into one body. This change was very much like the movement for a stronger national government.

The English church in America at a convention in 1783 declared in favor of calling itself the Protestant Episcopal Church in America. The Methodists grew during the Revolution, and in 1784 they held their first General Conference. This church split (1844) into a northern and southern church over slavery.

The Presbyterians formed their General Assembly in 1789, and the Roman Catholics secured their first bishop in 1790. The Baptists and the Congregationalists still held, with only slight changes, to the old independent congregations (\$70).

The Christians or Disciples, the Universalists, the Unitarians, and the Shakers arose in this period of agitation. All of these sects were very democratic in their church government.

273. Religion and morality in practice. Some of the states still taxed people to pay for the support of ministers (§130), but this, too, was passing away under the new influence. The Constitution had declared (Amendment I) that Congress could not fix on the people any religious belief.

But there was little practical sympathy for the unfortunate and the criminal. The jails were generally foul places, too foul for bodily health and too foul for mental health. The hardened criminal, the debtor who could

not pay, and the first offender, old or young, were thrown together in the jail. There were few asylums or reformatories, and the insane and the pauper had to be taken care of at home or sent to jail. The old custom of punishing people in public was gradually passing away.

274. Slavery. During the war slavery had existed in all the states, but it never struck deep root in the North. It could not be used with profit on small farms and in hand industries. Such slaves as were found in this section were mainly house-servants. The Quakers still preached against slavery (§111), and a few in other churches raised their voices against it. The Revolution, with its emphasis on the Rights of Man, joined hands with these religious forces and aroused a stronger sentiment against slavery. This was strong enough to abolish slavery in New England and Pennsylvania by 1790. New York and New Jersey followed a bit later.

Many people in the South opposed slavery on moral grounds as well as because of its deadening effect on industry. No one in the Constitutional Convention spoke stronger words against the institution than George Mason, a Virginia slaveholder.

275. Industry during the Revolution. We could trade but little with Europe during the war. Hence we had to depend upon home industries. The best of our people were proud to wear homespun. This made a demand upon the farmer for more wool and cotton, and upon the spinners and weavers for more thread and more cloth.

New industries sprang up under war conditions, and old ones were made larger. Gunsmiths were in demand all over the country, but the towns of Springfield, Massachusetts, and Waterbury, Connecticut, became great gunmaking centers. In Maryland cannon balls were

manufactured.¹⁰³ Saltpeter mines had to be opened so powder could be made. Shoemakers, harnessmakers, and saddlemakers found themselves hard pressed to meet the demands of the army.

A New York "Society for the Promotion of Arts, Agriculture, and Economy" offered premiums for linen, yarn, and woven stockings, and in Boston a spinning school was set up to teach women to spin. In Philadelphia a factory was opened which employed five hundred people in weaving linen and woolen cloth. Lancaster and Reading, Pennsylvania, were important manufacturing towns. In New Jersey, there were forty-one fulling machines for finishing the cloth made in farmhouses. In the South planters raised enough wool and cotton to clothe their servants and themselves. 104

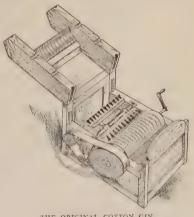
276. Industrial and political revolutions. We have already seen how the American Revolution changed the minds of men in England and France (§§215, 235). Toward its close two mighty changes in England and France began to influence America. The French Revolution made a powerful appeal to Americans because the French were throwing off the rule of the king and were setting up a republic (§287). Long before these events England had been undergoing a mighty industrial change. Men have called it the Industrial Revolution. This change was caused by three inventions: (1) a spinning machine, producing many threads at once instead of one; (2) a weaving machine, producing many yards of cloth instead of one; (3) an engine using steam instead of muscle to drive machinery.

277. How the machine came to America. These inventions gave England a big advantage over other nations. She passed a law punishing anyone for taking these

machines or drawings of them out of the country. But the shrewd Yankee soon found a way. He offered generous rewards to anyone who would set up these machines in America. Several experiments were made. But in 1789 Samuel Slater, an Englishman, came. He had memorized an English mill with its machinery. He set up a mill at Pawtucket, Rhode Island. The machines in this were turned by water, and then the hand wheels for spinning flax and wool began to change to this new invention. Likewise, the spinning and weaving began to change from the home to the factory. In the nooks and corners of America people still use the wheel and the hand loom.

278. The cotton gin, an American invention (1793). Near Savannah, Georgia, lived Mrs. Nathanael Greene

(§231). A Yankee school teacher, Eli Whitney, was paying her a visit. He heard planters tell how hard it was to separate the seed from cotton. Only five or six pounds a day was a man's work. This did not pay. Whitney put his mind to work and soon had a machine ready which separated the seeds from 300 to 1,000 pounds of cotton per day. This inven-



THE ORIGINAL COTTON GIN

tion produced a revolution in the cotton industry. The year before the use of the gin, the South sent 630 bales to England; the year after, 7,000; by 1800, 79,000 bales were sent abroad. The cotton industry increased by

leaps and bounds. The price of slaves rose, and the demand for new cotton lands in the South increased.



EMIGRANTS LEAVING FOR THE WEST IN CONESTOGA WAGONS

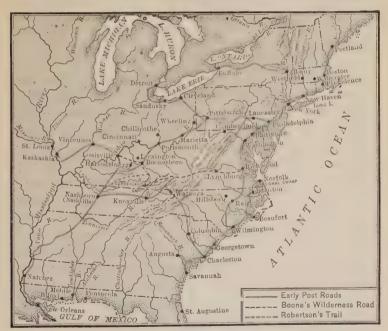
Cotton mills sprang up in the North, and it became harder to free the slaves.

279. The new West. Even before the Revolution, we saw a new West growing up around the sources of the Ohio and in the Allegheny regions (§225). The hardy sons of the East and South now pressed rapidly westward along old Indian trails which led to Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio. Some of them were attracted by the stories of the adventures that awaited the settler. Others were drawn by the beauty of the country, the richness of the soil, and most of all by the great supply of cheap lands awaiting them.

Several families in their Conestoga wagons usually made the journey together. The women and children

rode in the wagons or on horseback, while fathers and sons looked after herds of cattle or flocks of sheep if they had them. At night they "camped out," well guarded by dog and gun. They were thankful when a river was reached big enough to carry them near their settlement. This was a hard, slow way to travel, and we shall soon hear these settlers calling for better roads and waterways between the East and the West.

280. The trade of the new West. These hardy people had only a few things to sell, but they needed to sell them



EARLY TRAILS AND POST ROADS OVER WHICH THE PIONEERS TRAVELED WESTWARD

in the best market. Only a few things, such as cloth, nails, hides, fur, and ginseng, could be put on pack horses and

sent eastward over the mountains. The settlers loved to trade in their old homes, but there were no good roads,



TRANSPORTATION BY WATER BY MEANS OF THE FLATBOAT

and it was hard to get there. Their heavy articles, such as flour, bacon, and cattle, had to float down some stream to the Ohio, and on down the Mississippi to New Orleans. Here the goods were transferred to ocean-going vessels and carried to the cities of the Atlantic coast and the markets of the world.

What it meant to the Union, let Washington tell:105 "The western settlers stand, as it were, upon a pivot. The touch of a feather would turn them any way. They looked down the Mississippi for no other reason than because they could glide down the stream." But the Spaniards were foolish enough to charge the settlers heavy duties. The settlers in turn demanded the right to trade free of charge. The Spaniards in turn seized their boats and cargoes and left the angry owners to tramp their long way home, telling the story to other backwoodsmen. They threatened to rise and drive the Spaniards into the Gulf. But in 1705 Spain granted the free use of the mouth of the Mississippi to western trade.

281. Little improvement in ways of travel. There had been but little change in travel by land or water (§151). Between the larger towns, stagecoaches carried passengers, and mail carriers came about once a week. The stage went from Boston to Philadelphia in about eight days. Freight wagons reached Pittsburgh from Philadelphia in about twenty days, charging \$2.00 per hundred pounds. Now it costs but a few cents to carry such a load.

On the water men still used sail and oar (§151). Flatboats and sailboats were the larger vessels used. But in this very period experiments were being made which promised to revolutionize river trade and travel. More or less successful efforts were made in New England, the middle states, and in the South, to invent a steamboat.

WASHINGTON THE FIRST PRESIDENT (1789-97)

- **282.** The first national election. The first election under the Constitution was very different from elections today. There were no excitement, no orators, and no torchlight processions. Each state followed its own plan of voting. The electors all voted for Washington, as was expected. John Adams was elected vice-president. It was Virginia and Massachusetts again (§196).
- 283. The first president. The man who had led their armies and who had been head of their Constitutional Convention was now going to put into effect the Constitution he had helped to make. From Alexandria, his home town, he began the journey to New York, at that time the capital. All along the way he was made to feel how greatly beloved he was by the people. At Baltimore, his neighboring city, he was welcomed by flags and bunting, and by shouting people; in Philadelphia, by laurel and liberty caps, ringing of bells, and booming of

cannon; in Trenton, by a triumphal arch resting on thirteen pillars. As Washington passed under the arch



maidens, strewing flowers, came forward to meet him. What memories Princeton and Trenton must have recalled (§207)!

New York Bay was black with people in boats. shouting and singing. Both home and foreign warships fired salutes. Congressmen and governors and distinguished citizens

escorted Washington to the home in which he was to live. On April 30 he stood in old Federal Hall, his hand upon the Bible, and took the oath as president (Art. II, §1, ¶8). His hand trembled as he read his inaugural address. He was now to travel a road no man had trod, for he was now the president of a republic.

284. Appointing great men to office. Among the great men appointed to hold office were Thomas Jefferson, secretary of state, to look after our relations with foreign nations; Alexander Hamilton, secretary of the treasury, to look after the money and debts of the country; General Knox, secretary of war and the navy; and Edmund Randolph, to take charge of the questions of law coming before the new government. These men made up what has been called the cabinet. They were to advise the president on all questions about which he wanted to know. Sometimes he asked each one separately for his advice, and at others he called them together to get the benefit of their joint wisdom.

The Constitution did not mention these departments by name, nor did it contain the word "cabinet." But

the Constitution did mention a Supreme Court with judges. Washington appointed that distinguished Huguenot lawyer, John Jay, as first judge of the Supreme Court (§189). Washington was careful to put good and true men in office in spite of the fact that many persons wrote letters urging him to appoint their friends.

285. Paying the national debt. The old Confederation could not pay its debts (\$243), and in 1790 these amounted to more than



OHN JAY

\$50,000,000. They included what we had borrowed from our citizens, from our friends, France and Holland, and the debts of the different states. Hamilton said the new government should take over the latter and pay them. This meant that the Federal government had to find some means of raising a large sum of money. Hamilton boldly attacked this problem by favoring the following measures: (1) a tariff on foreign goods to bring money into the treasury; (2) the creation of a United States bank (1791) to handle the

money of the country; (3) an excise tax, a tax on distilled liquors. All of these measures became law. Some money from these sources was set aside to pay the national debt, and some to pay the running expenses of the government.

286. Opposition. Origin of political parties. Debates in Congress over these questions showed great differences



THE FIRST UNITED STATES BANK AT PHILADELPHIA

of opinions, especially those on the United States bank. Washington took the opinion in writing of Hamilton favoring, and Jefferson opposing the bank. Washington signed the bill (Art. I, §7). On other measures, also, disputes arose until there were formed two groups of men in and out of Congress.

Hamilton represented one group who called themselves Federalists. They believed in making the national government strong and in using all the powers granted and implied in the Constitution. Because Hamilton's financial measures had improved business, the trading states supported him. The Federalists were accused of favoring monarchy and of building up a "money power" in the country that would keep laborers and farmers working for many a long year to pay off the debt.

Jefferson led the opposition, which took the name of Republicans. They believed in strong state governments and in Congress' using only those powers named in the Constitution. Jefferson drew most of his support from the planting states and the frontier communities. He believed in the common man, disliked big cities, and was afraid of the Federal government getting too much power through Hamilton's measures.

THE ORIGIN OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY

287. The French Revolution raises hard questions. The revolution was a conflict in France between the king, the nobles, and the rich on the one side, and the peasant farmers and the poor of the cities on the other. The first class did not pay their share of the taxes, and the burdens fell so much the heavier on the second class. The king, Louis XVI, was too weak to see justice done. Besides, his fine nobles and women wasted vast sums of money obtained by taxes.

The king summoned a national congress,¹¹¹ called the Estates General, to save France from bankruptcy (1789). Lafayette was a member. Imitating America, the Estates drew up a constitution. But the French people had suffered too long. They overthrew their king, set up a republic, and abolished all titles. Finally they beheaded the king and queen. This led to war with the nations of Europe, including England.

What will the United States do? France came to our aid in the Revolution, and ought we not to go to her aid?

288. Washington consults his cabinet. Washington took the advice of his cabinet and sent forth a declaration that the United States would not take sides with either party in the war. This has been called a "Proclamation

of Neutrality." The year 1793 marks the beginning of our policy of not taking part in European quarrels.

But many Americans did not agree with Washington. They declared that he was favoring kings in their war against the French people. They held feasts, toasted the French, wore French colors, and called each other "Citizen" or "Citizeness" instead of Mr. and Mrs. Feeling ran high, the Republicans standing for France and the Federalists for England.

289. Troubles over trade. The war in Europe made it dangerous for French and British ships to sail the sea. This left American neutral ships to carry much of the trade to both countries. But neither France nor England liked to see American ships carrying trade to the other. Now any nation at war has the right to capture ships if they are caught carrying guns, powder, and other war stores to a blockaded port.

But England went farther. She captured American ships carrying wheat, sugar, and coffee to France. Some of these goods came from the United States and some from the French West Indies, but England claimed the right to capture all of them. Besides, she held to the doctrine that "Once an Englishman, always an Englishman." Hence she searched American ships and in some cases seized American-born sailors because they looked like Englishmen. This act was called "impressing" seamen, and aroused great indignation throughout the country. Men began to talk of war.

290. Jay's Treaty (1794). Feeling in the West was hot. The settlers believed that England, which still held the western posts given us by the Treaty of 1783, was encouraging the Indians to attack us. Washington sent Jay to make a treaty with England. Jay secured

a pledge to give up the western posts, but failed to get relief for our seamen. Search and impressment went on. That part of the treaty in regard to our trade was so bad that the Senate refused to ratify it. The treaty probably saved us from war. It was so unpopular that in some places it was burned, and Alexander Hamilton was stoned in New York for defending it.

HOME PROBLEMS AGAIN

291. Washington refuses a third term. His death (1799). For eight years Washington had labored faithfully and well. He had laid the foundations of the new government deep in the hearts of his countrymen. He refused a third election and retired to his beloved Mount Vernon, bearing the affections of the civilized world. He

sent forth a farewell address carrying his good wishes to the people and expressing a desire that they avoid the dangers of party strife. He was happy on his farm once more. He died at the age of sixty-seven and was mourned by the people of all the world.¹¹³

Adams and Jefferson (1797). Adams and Jefferson had been great friends. Both were on the committee which made the Declaration of Independence, one was its author and the



JOHN ADAMS

other its orator. One was minister to England and the other to France under the Confederation. But now they

began to separate. Adams was a Federalist, Jefferson was a Republican, and both were candidates for the presidency. Adams won the election by three electoral votes. Jefferson became vice-president (Art. II, §1, ¶3).

293. Relations with France again. France was angry because of Jay's Treaty, and for a short time there was war on the sea with that nation. President Adams sent three men to France to make a treaty. But they were told that certain men 114 of influence must be paid \$250,000 before anything could be done. Americans were indignant. They declared that we had "millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute." The cause of France suddenly became unpopular, and everybody cheered for the President and joined in singing the new song, "Hail Columbia." Congress caught the enthusiasm and voted to increase the army and to build more and bigger warships.

294. The decline of the Federalists. The Federalists found themselves riding a wave of popular favor. They took advantage of it to pass two laws: one to give the president power to order aliens out of the country without trial if they were considered dangerous; and the other to punish by fine and imprisonment speakers or writers who falsely criticized the government or its high officers. These are called the Alien and Sedition laws.¹¹⁵

Some Federalists denounced these acts, and the Republicans were angry. The Sedition Act especially roused them, and when the courts began to send men to prison for violating it, they said it was being used by the government to stop free discussion of political questions and keep the Federalists in power. Jefferson and Madison seized their pens and wrote the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions, declaring the acts were a violation of the

Constitution (Amendment I). Kentucky declared that any state might excuse its citizens from obeying such a Federal law. This was the doctrine of "nullification" It later made much trouble.

Hamilton had shown his opposition to the Alien and Sedition laws. He also had criticized President Adams' administration. This further split the Federalists.

205. The first real presidential campaign (1800). The candidates were Adams and Jefferson again. Adams was called an "aristocrat." He was a bit reserved and did not welcome the common people to a part in the government. Tefferson was called a "mobocrat" because he sympathized with the people of France. He had great faith

in the common people, and they naturally loved him. Republicans pointed to what then seemed great extravagance. The cost of government had mounted from \$3,000,000 in 1792 to over \$10,000,000 in 1800. This taken with the split among the Federalists, led to their defeat. The electoral vote stood 65 for Adams and 73 for Jefferson.

But Jefferson was not yet president. Aaron Burr, a political boss in New York, received 73 votes also. The election was thus thrown into



THOMAS JEFFERSON

the lower house of Congress 116 (Art. II, §1, ¶3), where the Federalists had a majority. It is supposed that

Hamilton's influence elected Jefferson because he thought Jefferson less dangerous than Burr.

Just before leaving the presidency, Adams appointed John Marshall of Virginia as chief justice of the Supreme Court. He was a Federalist, and his decisions saved the government from running too much toward States' Rights (§286).

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PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. Your great-grandfather kept a diary, 1790–1800. Report on the part telling how the people lived at that time. 2. Visit George Mason before the invention of the cotton gin and listen while he argues against slavery. Tell what he said. 3. Boys and girls are stationed at Alexandria, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Trenton, and New York Bay to witness the passing of Washington. Tell what they saw. 4. Attend Washington's receptions. Tell what the people say about them. 5. Attend a banquet given in honor of Genet in Philadelphia. Write a report for a Federalist paper.

CHAPTER XII

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IN POWER

JEFFERSON IN CONTROL (1801-9)

296. The first Republican president. There was joy among Republicans when they learned of Jefferson's election. Fear filled the hearts of his opponents because they honestly believed that the government was on the road to ruin. Jefferson was a many-sided man. He was a planter, a scientist, and a philosopher. He corresponded with many foreigners about useful inventions, tools for farming, books, and politics.

Jefferson has been called our shrewdest politician. He set out to win Federalists to his party and succeeded.



He said in his inaugural: "We are all Republicans; we are all Federalists." He declared in favor of "equal and

exact justice to all men—peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations—entangling alliances with none Economy in the public expense—and the honest payment of our public debts."

Jefferson was opposed to pomp and show. He knew that simplicity and economy appealed to most men when they had to pay the bills. Hence he put aside processions and riding in great carriages drawn by fine horses, as Washington and Adams had done. He walked to the new capitol¹¹⁷ with friends and read his inaugural. He sent his messages to Congress to be read, while Washington and Adams had been driven there and had read their messages in person.

297. A popular president. Jefferson made himself popular with all classes except the extreme Federalists. Congress did about as he wished. It cut down the army and navy, for Jefferson was a man of peace. It repealed the excise law, for it was unpopular (\$285). Our trade with Europe was bringing millions of money into the country (\$285). Jefferson had appointed a famous financier, Albert Gallatin, a native of Switzerland, to care for our money. By the end of Jefferson's first term he saw nearly half of our national debt wiped out. Jefferson, too, had been troubled by "office seekers" (\$284). He did not appoint many, because of the men holding office he said: "Few die and none resign." It is now easy for us to see why Jefferson received so great a vote in the Electoral College (1805) for a second term.

PEOPLING THE WEST

298. The West calls again. We have seen how the settlers west of the Alleghenies felt about closing the mouth of the Mississippi (§280). The news suddenly

spread over the West that the mouth of the river was closed and that Napoleon, the victorious French general,



FIRST SETTLEMENT OF LOUISVILLE

had charge of it instead of Spain (1802). Napoleon had swept all Western Europe with his victorious soldiers and now began to dream of an empire in America, a revival of the New France that had been the dream of La Salle (§163).

The rifleman of the West took down his gun, looked it over, and started for the place of meeting. He was either going to petition President Jefferson to stop Napoleon, or he was going to join his fellows, march to New Orleans, and settle matters. Napoleon had already changed his mind. The British navy stood in Napoleon's way. Jefferson had also written a note, probably seen by Napoleon, declaring that "there is on the globe one single spot, the possessor of which is our natural and habitual enemy. It is New Orleans." He also said that if Napoleon went farther in America, we should "marry ourselves to the British fleet and nation."

299. The purchase of Louisiana (1803). Napoleon saw the point. If he did not, our minister, Robert R. Livingston, had convinced him before Monroe arrived that he must sell the whole of Louisiana or lose it. Jefferson had sent Monroe to buy only the Island of Orleans and West Florida. Both ministers were enthusiastic over buying the whole of Louisiana Territory and agreed to pay \$15,000,000 for it.

At one peaceful blow Jefferson had doubled the size of the United States. Federalist leaders of New England were angry. They denied the right to purchase Louisiana since that power was not given in the Constitution. Jefferson himself was in doubt! But he took the advice of friends, since the West and South were bent on getting this region (see map for boundaries).

The frontiersmen were happy, and only a few of the wilder spirits among them joined Burr's treasonable

expedition to the Southwest.¹¹⁸ Their commerce now had free outlet to the Atlantic states and to Europe. No doubt the purchase of Louisiana hastened development in the Mississippi Valley.

300. The Lewis and Clark expedition to Oregon. Like Washington, Jefferson had a vision of the great future of the United States. The people knew little of the new country of Louisiana. But he decided that they should know more.



MERIWETHER LEWIS

that they should know more. He sent forth the first great expedition to explore this region and to gather some notion of its resources. Lewis and Clark headed a band of men who trained like soldiers for their task. They left



THE LEWIS AND CLARK EXPEDITION

the town of St. Louis (1804) and sailed and paddled up the Missouri to where Bismarck, North Dakota, now stands. Here they spent the winter.

From this point they were guided by an Indian woman¹¹⁹ up the river and across the mountains. They found the headwaters of the Missouri and the Columbia near together. This western river they followed until it flowed into the blue waters of the Pacific. There they remained all winter, writing up their journals and drawing maps of the region explored. In the spring they returned to the Missouri by way of the Yellowstone River. The American people opened their eyes as they read the story of the mighty West.

301. Our claim to the Oregon country. This expedition gave us a firmer claim to this region. As early as 1792 Captain Gray, a fur trader, in the good ship "Columbia," saw a river and gave it the name of his ship. Our right was made still more secure by another fur trader, John Jacob Astor. He sent two parties to

Oregon: one directly across the mountains and another

by way of Cape Horn. They planted Astoria (1811), but



they were driven out the next year by British fur traders. Fur trading was still a factor in the making of the United States (§144).

302. Zebulon Pike explores the West. While Lewis and Clark were hunting for the secrets of the Missouri and the Columbia, Lieutenant Pike was moving up the Mississippi to find its source. He reached Cass Lake but went no farther. After his return he was sent out

to trace the boundary between Louisiana and New Spain. He followed the Missouri, then went up the Osage for a time and into Colorado. Here he climbed the famous peak which bears his name. He then crossed over into Spanish territory, was captured and taken to Santa Fe. The Spaniards took him to El Paso, where he was set free, and he finally reached home (1807).

303. New states organized in the West. The new states organized since the Revolution were all in the West except Vermont (1791), the fourteenth state.

Vermont, the Green Mountain state, was the first state after the original thirteen to come into the Union. Champlain, the Frenchman (§161), first saw this country (1609). The French settled Fort St. Anne (1665). Massachusetts built Dummer (1724). New Hampshire and New York both laid claims to portions of Vermont's territory. The Green Mountain Boys, organized to



resist New York's claims, did heroic service in the Revolution. Southern sympathizers from Canada invaded St. Albans (1864). This place was in turn headquarters for the Fenian invasion of Canada (1870). Vermont celebrated the Tercentenary of the discovery of Lake Champlain in 1909.

Kentucky, since the Revolution, had been making great strides. Over Boone's Wilderness road (§225), the people were pouring into this charming region. Both Lexington and Louisville had been begun during the Revolution. Kentucky contained 75,000 people in 1790, and was admitted to the Union as the fifteenth state in 1792. In 1800 she had a population of 220,000, and in 1810, over 406,000. Henry Clay had already come from Virginia and was capturing the western people by his eloquent voice and his winsome manners. On the soil of this



state, not far apart, were born those two sons of destiny, Abraham Lincoln (1809) and Jefferson Davis (1808).

Tennessee (§225) was crowding Kentucky. Settlers were pouring in from the East and South. When the



FORT WASHINGTON, CINCINNATI, IN 1789

first census was taken (1790) she had over thirty-five thousand people. With this showing she was admitted to the Union in 1796. Two of her early heroes were James Robertson and John Sevier, but the most famous man in all her history was General Andrew Jackson.

304. Ohio the first of the old Northwest. Three flags had waved over Ohio: the French, the British, and the American. Ohio was the first child of the Ordinance of 1787 (§248). The Virginia Military Reservation and the Western Reserve had already been located (§247). New England Revolutionary veterans, led by General Putnam, settled Marietta (1788). In the same year Cincinnati was located. Here Fort Washington gave protection to the struggling soldiers of St. Clair's army, beaten by the Indians (1790). Mad Anthony Wayne won the final victory over the red men at Fallen Timbers and forced them to sign the Treaty of Greenville (1795).

Settlers now rushed in from the South and settled around Chillicothe, and those from the East settled around Cleveland. Ohio had over forty thousand people when admitted (1803), but in 1810 she had over two hundred and thirty thousand. She shares with Virginia the honor of being the mother of presidents. Six were elected from Ohio, and two others were born within her borders.

TROUBLES WITH FOREIGN NATIONS AGAIN

305. The rise of Napoleon. Napoleon Bonaparte was born on the island of Corsica in the Mediterranean, then belonging to France. He was sent to a military school and became an artillery officer. He made himself famous by placing his cannon where they swept Paris free of a mob. He was sent to Italy (1796) at the head of a half-starved army, but won victory after victory over the Austrians. He was then sent to Egypt.

He returned to France a great hero and had himself elected First Consul. For half a dozen years his armies were victorious. He was probably the greatest general that ever headed an army. He wished to rule all Europe, but the English navy was in his way. He decided to invade England, but in the Battle of Trafalgar Nelson defeated the combined fleets of France and Spain (1805).

306. Jefferson gets into trouble. Jefferson was friendly with France and Napoleon (§295). Then England began to search our ships and impress our seamen again (§289). Jefferson did not want war and tried to make a treaty, but would not even show it to the Senate. He then tried the old Non-Importation Act (§181), but England was too busy with Napoleon to give attention to non-importation. Finally an English ship fired into an American vessel, the "Chesapeake," and compelled her to submit to search.

British officers carried away both British and American seamen (§289). Public meetings denounced this attack and demanded war.



HOW THE FEDERALISTS RIDICULED THE EMBARGO

307. Napoleon's European blockades (1807). Napoleon decided to strike a great blow at England's chief source of strength, her trade. He blockaded all of Western Europe and declared that no Eng-

lish goods or English ships should enter any of these ports. England was furious and declared that any vessels found sailing for France should be seized. American ships were between two fires. The English had the greater navy and could do more harm than the French, but between them in a few years they captured over a thousand American vessels.

308. The Embargo strikes our trading and other economic interests (1807). Jefferson tried to get relief by the Embargo. This law simply forbade American vessels to leave home ports and English vessels to enter them. The loss of trade was intended to bring England to time. Although England suffered, she could not turn away from the struggle with Napoleon. But we suffered more from the Embargo than England did. It hit hard all parts of the country. The shipowners and sailors of New England, the cotton and tobacco growers of the South, and the farmers of the West were all badly hurt. Smuggling flourished with Canada, Florida, and the West Indies. Much to his sorrow, Jefferson had to submit to the repeal

of the Embargo in the last days of his administration. It had failed to do the things he had hoped for.

309. Madison president (1809-17). Madison had been a warm supporter of Jefferson since the beginning of parties (§286). Jefferson had shown his friendship by making Madison his secretary of state. Madison, like Jefferson, tried to keep on friendly terms with Napoleon. But Napoleon was tricky. In the Embargo days when American ships were not permitted to go to Europe, Napoleon captured some that went to France, but he said he was only aiding Jefferson in enforcing the Embargo!

310. The Non-Intercourse Acts. The United States promised that if either England or France would repeal the laws against American trade, she would immediately open up trade with that one and refuse to trade with the other (1809). Napoleon seemed to agree to this, but when American ships reached France he seized their cargoes

worth \$10,000,000.

311. The "War Hawks."
The rising tide of war was best represented in the new Congress by men from the far South and the new West. These were nicknamed "War Hawks" by John Randolph, a Republican opposed to war. 120 The ablest among them were John C. Calhoun of South Carolina and Henry Clay of Kentucky. Both



CLAY AND CALHOUN URGING MADISON TO DECLARE WAR

had been fired by the Indian outbreaks which they supposed England had stirred up, and by the insults heaped upon our ships at sea by both England and France (§307). Clay declared that we could defeat England in Canada. We had about seven million people, and Canada less than five hundred thousand. It seemed Clay was right. But he did not count all the factors. It was a hard road through the woods to Canada. Besides, not all our people favored war.

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PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. You live in 1890 and find a letter from your great-grandfather telling how they lived and what they did in 1790. 2. Write an essay telling of the "good old times" when Jefferson was inaugurated. 3. Write a letter to an admirer of Washington giving reasons for thinking Jefferson ought to take his place as president. Let some one else write a letter urging that John Adams should succeed Washington. 4. You are in a theater. News is read of the X. Y. Z. Affair. Music strikes up the "President's March." The people rise and clap. Describe your feelings to a friend. 5. You are the daughter of a senator in the time of Madison. Write a letter to your "chum" back east telling of Dolly Madison and the President's reception. Compare it with Washington's reception.

. CHAPTER XIII

THE WAR OF 1812

A WAR FOR FREEDOM OF COMMERCE

312. Declaration of war (1812). Hundreds of people, mostly Federalists, thought Napoleon was a military despot lording it over Europe, and that England was battling for the freedom of America as well as of Europe. These people, with the Republicans opposed to the war who had put up De Witt Clinton of New York, came near winning the election in 1812. Congress. after a hard fight, declared war by a small majority. 121 No

sooner had war been declared than the news came that England was taking steps to patch up the difficulty.

The United States was far from being united in the war. A peace-loving president had been rushed into war, and the United States was not prepared. The Republicans had cut down both the army and navy (§297) and had done little toward getting ready. We had an army of about sixty-five hundred men and a navy of twenty fighting ships. England had



JAMES MADISON

nearly a thousand warships. Fortunately for us most of them had to be kept near home. Her army was large.

313. Why Americans won in the West. The West was enthusiastic for the war. Before war was declared



PERRY AT THE BATTLE OF LAKE ERIE

western men, led by General Harrison, defeated the Indians at the Battle of Tippecanoe (1811). General Hull, surrendering his army, was a victim to Canadian dash and Indian cunning at Detroit. All the Northwest was now open. The people feared the Indian tomahawk and scalping knife. They called loudly for Harrison to recover Ohio and Michigan.

While Harrison was gathering his forces for the invasion of Canada, young Captain Oliver H. Perry built a fleet out of green timber and completely defeated the British ships at Put-in-Bay on Lake Erie (1813). After the battle Perry wrote his famous dispatch to Harrison: "We have met the enemy and they are ours; two ships, two brigs, one schooner, and one sloop."

General Harrison was now ready. The British and the Indians under Tecumseh burned Detroit and retreated





to Canada. Perry carried Harrison's army across the lake. He defeated the British in the Battle of the Thames (1813). Among the slain was Tecumseh 122

314. Victorious fighting on the sea. The British expected little of our navy. They laughed at our "fir built things," and poked fun at our "gridiron flag." The world opened its eyes when the British ship, the "Guerrière," searched for and met the "Constitution," and was captured near the Gulf of St. Lawrence (1812). At the call of fife and drum, every man on the "Constitution" ran to his post. The sailors climbed into the rigging, the gunners double-loaded their cannon, and the powder boys ran for ammunition. Muskets and pistols were placed near at hand to be ready for boarding. Sand was scattered over the deck.

The "Guerrière" had already opened fire, but Captain Hull waited until he was within pistol shot. The "Constitution" fired a whole broadside. A British mast fell! The ships came close together, and the American sailors tied them fast. Both crews were ready to board and fight it out hand to hand, but the ships drifted apart. The



noise of cannon, the crack of muskets, the loud commands of officers, the groans of the wounded, the clouds of smoke,

the powder-stained faces of the gunners, all helped to make an awful scene.

As the two vessels parted, the rest of the "Guerrière's" masts fell. With great holes torn in her sides, she lay a helpless wreck, and soon struck her flag. "It took but half an hour, but in that half hour the United States rose to the rank of a first class naval power."

315. Other sea victories. Soon after, the "Constitution" captured another British frigate and was honored with the title of "Old Ironsides," although only a wooden vessel.

The warship, the "United States," captured her equal in rank, the "Macedonian." A number of smaller vessels won signal victories over small British ships. One of the most brilliant voyages was made into the Pacific by David Porter in the frigate "Essex." He captured more than he could care for. On board the "Essex" was young Farragut, a future naval hero (§464).

On Lake Champlain Captain McDonough, with his little fleet of thirteen ships, forced every British ship in a fleet of sixteen to strike its colors (1814). This was the only clear-cut victory in the East.

England had been mistress of the sea for so long that she could not believe the news of these defeats. She turned her great warships toward America and soon wore out our little navy.

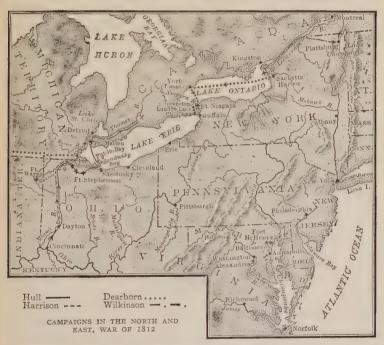
But she could not reach all our privateers (§220). They swarmed in every sea, capturing British merchant ships. They took over two thousand of them. British shipowners were very anxious for peace.

316. Victories were few in the North. The people in the middle and New England states were anything but enthusiastic over the war. Besides, many of the

officers were hardly fitted for the hard campaigning against Canada.

The expedition against Queenstown Heights and the campaign to capture Montreal were both failures. Better fighting was done at Chippewa and Lundy's Lane, but our army was compelled to retreat (1814).

317. Expedition against Washington and Baltimore (1814). A British expedition captured Washington and



burned the capitol in return for a like act by Americans, the burning of the capitol at Toronto. Both deeds were unsoldierlike. The British force then turned on Baltimore, hated because of its scores of privateers. The attack was beaten off. Francis Scott Key, detained on a British ship,

wrote the stirring words of the "Star-Spangled Banner," when he caught sight of the flag still flying over Fort McHenry.

318. General Jackson wins New Orleans (1815). Jackson had already made himself famous by defeating the Indians. He was commanding western troops who, like their fathers in the Revolution, were sharpshooters.

He gathered six thousand men at New Orleans. From behind breastworks he faced Pakenham's ten thousand veterans fresh from European battlefields. The battle lasted twenty-five minutes. The British lost twenty-six hundred; the Americans had eight killed and thirteen



JACKSON AT NEW ORLEANS DIRECTING THE DEFENSE AGAINST THE BRITISH ASSAULT

wounded. This victory blotted out many sore failures.

This battle would never have occurred if the cable had been laid, for the treaty of peace had already been signed at Ghent in Belgium.

319. The

Hartford Convention (1814). From the beginning we have seen New Englanders opposed to the war. Madison was suspicious and feared disloyalty. Finally delegates from New England met at Hartford to take measures of self-protection. The war party declared that this meeting was to break up the Union. It must have sounded strange

to Jefferson and Madison to hear New England, once the stronghold of the Federalists, talking about States' Rights (§286)! But the war soon ended and the opposition died out.

320. The Treaty of Ghent (1814). Napoleon had been overthrown in 1814 only to come back suddenly with another army. His final defeat occurred at Waterloo at the hands of Wellington (1815). Napoleon had taught the world many new things about war, but he had used up much of the manhood of Europe in doing it.

The prospect of peace in Europe probably showed the way when American commissioners met the British. They did not settle any of the questions that caused the war. These for the most part had been settled by the ending of the war in Europe.

The Americans and the British were glad the war was over. Their merchants had suffered from privateers and from blockades, and taxes had been piled high. The American seaman now stood higher in the estimation of Englishmen than before.

- 321. A hundred years of peace. 123 From 1815 to the present there has been peace between the two great English-speaking nations. The Rush-Bagot Treaty (1817) declared that along our Canadian boundary no big forts should frown, and that no warships should sail on lake or river. But along this line of 4,000 miles the Canadian and the American peoples meet in mutual friendship. Differences have arisen, but the solid sense of the two nations has always found a happy way of settling these disputes.
- 322. The immediate results of the war. (1) A stronger national sentiment had grown up. We were proud of our navy and of men like Jackson and Harrison. The

Federalist party soon died out. In 1816 it had thirty-four electoral votes, and in 1820, not one. (2) Dare the Republicans recharter Hamilton's bank (§285)?¹²⁴ Congress passed the bill, making a bank over three times as large as Hamilton's. (3) The first tariff had given protection to American manufacturers (§285). The Embargo and the war gave more by cutting off European goods. After peace foreign goods rushed in. Americans bought them because they were cheap. The manufacturers called for protection. Congress debated. Daniel Webster was against protection and John C. Calhoun for it. The bill was passed, and America became more independent of Europe.

SUGGESTED READINGS

References for teachers: Hart, Patriots and Statesmen, III, 197-319; Babcock, Rise of American Nationality, chaps. v-xi; Roosevelt, Naval War of 1812; Bassett, Short History, chap. xv.

References for pupils: Hart, Source Book, 218-225; Great Epochs in American History, V, 11-41, 79-89; Tomlinson, Boy Soldiers of 1812. Fiction: Barnes, Loyal Traitors; Brady, For the Freedom of the Seas.

PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. You are a boy in Harrison's army going to the Tippecanoe battlefield. Write a letter to your mother back in New York. 2. Imagine you are with the "Essex" in the Pacific and meet young Farragut. Write all about it in your diary.

CHAPTER XIV

THE COMING OF A NEW TIME

WESTERN MIGRATION AND INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS

323. The second wave of western migration. The flow of people at the close of the War of the Revolution brought in the first new states (§303). With peace there began a mightier rush to find homes in the West. People filled the region between the Allegheny Mountains and the Mississippi River, and by 1820 began to occupy the states just across the river. They held closely to the rivers for homes and for means of getting their crops to market. The wooded regions were settled first. There seemed to be a feeling against the prairies.

324. How the western settlers lived. On the frontier the settlers lived over again the experiences of colonial days (§119). The dense forests had to be cut away to build their log houses, and had to be burned to make way for their little crops. Often the trees were "girdled" so they would die, and corn was planted between the dead trees.

The people helped each other to put up their houses. Neighbors for miles around came to "log rollings." For days the settler and his sons cut down trees and burned and chopped them into logs of proper length for rolling. On the day chosen the neighbors came. Sometimes the two strongest selected their men. The two groups went to work to see which could roll the greatest number of logs into heaps. There was much rough fun, hard work, and plenty to eat. With the logs all burned, the farmer was ready to plow.



Besides raising grain to supply his own table, he raised enough for his horses, cattle, and hogs. The hogs did not call for much, for they usually got fat on the mast, that is, the acorns, hazel and hickory nuts, and walnuts.

325. How the wife's table was furnished. The frontier farmer's wife usually set her table with many kinds of wholesome food. Besides the meats raised, there were wild meats. The favorites were deer and turkey. Grapes and berries grew everywhere, and if she did not live too far south, the housewife could have the best sweet of that time, maple sirup. The great forests furnished homes for bees, and the farmer could add honey to his table. Pies from rumpkin and blackberries were plentiful.

326. The demand for internal improvements. The country was scarcely settled before the farmers began to call for better roads, improved water-ways, and for canals. They wanted

to sell some of their land, and villages and towns expected to grow into larger places if they could count





upon a regular stream of incoming settlers. Very soon Henry Clay, with persuasive voice, was calling the attention of Congress and of the country to his "American System." This included internal improvements, a protective tariff, and a United States bank.

327. The steamboat, "Fulton's Folly" (1807). Experiments in building steamboats had been made on different rivers (§281). Fulton, on the Hudson, had been most successful. After studying boats and engines in Europe he came home and built the "Clermont."

Full of hope, a crowd gathered on the day for sailing. The boat moved from her place and stopped. Some shook their heads and said, "I told you so!" Fulton went below and fixed the machinery. The boat moved out and on to Albany, a distance of 150 miles, in thirty-two hours. The "Clermont" had a sail as a help, but depended mostly on an engine fastened to a pair of side wheels.

Steamboats quickly appeared on the rivers in the eastern states, and soon one was built at Pittsburgh (1811)

for the Ohio River trade. Another carried supplies to General Jackson at New Orleans (1814). A year had not gone by before a steam-



boat was making its way from New Orleans, laden with goods from Europe, to the frontier town of Louisville

- (§298). This roused the merchants of the East who feared the loss of their trade. They at once demanded a protective tariff and better roads to the West.
- 328. A race between New Orleans and the eastern cities. Before the steamboat came, there was a race between New Orleans and the cities of the East for western trade. The raft and the flatboat carried the heavy products to New Orleans, but the lighter things were carried on pack horses over the mountains to Philadelphia and Baltimore. So, too, great droves of hogs and cattle, fattened in the woods of the West, were driven to eastern cities. But the eastern merchants found it hard, slow work to send their clothes, hardware, and wooden articles over the mountains. When the steamboat came, New Orleans was far in the lead. Cincinnati sent her pork, Louisville her tobacco and hemp, and St. Louis her furs, to New Orleans. The value of the trade sent down the Ohio and Mississippi in 1810 was over \$8,000,000.
- 329. The Cumberland or National Road. But the East had long been up and doing. Both Washington and Jefferson had recommended a roadway over the mountains. In 1806 the Cumberland turnpike was begun by Congress. This ran from Cumberland, Maryland, over the mountains to Wheeling on the Ohio. When finished, it was a smooth road 80 feet wide, with markers each quarter of a mile. It climbed the rocky sides of mountains, crossed wide chasms, and bridged large streams by great culverts made of stone. Along its winding way great crowds could be seen. There were emigrant wagons, pack horses, and men and women driving a cow, a few sheep or hogs to the western home. Coming eastward one saw droves of fat cattle and hogs for the eastern markets. Now and then one met a dashing stagecoach filled with

passengers; the horses were changed before the coach stopped rocking or the passengers had time to view the scenery. It took just twenty-four hours to make the trip from Cumberland to Wheeling, from the Potomac to the Ohio. This was rapid travel for that day.



SETTLERS MOVING WEST ALONG THE CUMBERLAND ROAD

In 1820 Congress, stirred by the eloquent Clay, surveyed this road from Wheeling to St. Louis. It was called the National Road. In time it was built as far as Vandalia, Illinois.

330. Early canals. The people of the older states were alive to the use of canals. Just after the Revolution Washington saw how western trade might be turned eastward by a canal joining Chesapeake Bay and the Ohio. Virginia and North Carolina very early built the Dismal Swamp Canal. The Boston and Middlesex Canal was finished in 1803. Many canals were planned for New

England and the middle states, but none were built until after the War of 1812. Then work began in earnest.



TRAVEL ON THE ERIE CANAL IN 1825

331. The Erie Canal. Soon after the war Congress refused to spend money on canals. The states took up the problem. Work on the Erie Canal was begun in 1817. People said it could not be built; but De Witt Clinton,

governor of New York, stood staunchly in favor of it, and the canal was finished in 1825. Fun was poked at it as "Clinton's Big Ditch." It crossed swamps, rivers, and hills, and when finished was 363 miles long, 40 feet wide, and 4 feet deep.

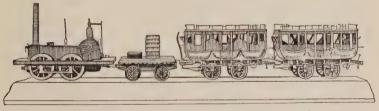
Governor Clinton and other leading men, with a "fleet" of canal boats, began a triumphal voyage from Lake Erie to the Atlantic. Celebrations occurred at all the important towns, and wherever a road crossed the canal the country folk gathered to witness the strange voyage in boats through the land. On November 4, with bells ringing and cannon booming and surrounded by a large fleet, Clinton emptied kegs of water from Lake Erie into the ocean to signify that the Great Lakes and the Atlantic were forever united (1825).

332. The effects of the Erie Canal. The canal paid for itself in ten years, and its immediate effects were far-reaching. Along its way thriving cities grew up: Buffalo, Rochester, Syracuse, Utica, Schenectady, Troy, and

Albany.¹²⁷ The cost of freight was reduced to one-tenth its former cost. The result was that the canal became a great highway between the East and West. Even European goods could reach the towns of northern Ohio and Indiana by way of the canal and the Great Lakes. New York City won the advantage over all rivals and has become the greatest city of the United States.

The remote effects of the Erie Canal have been as farreaching. Pennsylvania took up the plan of building a canal from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh, with a portage railroad to help in getting over the mountains. The Ghesapeake and Ohio Canal joined Washington City to the Cumberland Road. Baltimore was successful in pushing the plan for a railroad.

Of the new states, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois were the most active canal builders. The most important canals ran from Cleveland south through Columbus to Portsmouth on the Ohio. From Toledo another canal ran to Fort Wayne and through Terre Haute to the Ohio.



THE FIRST TRAIN OVER THE PENNSYLVANIA RAILROAD IN 1835

333. The beginning of railroads. The successful rival of the canal was already here. But the railroad did not promise much at first. The rails were wooden or were strapped with iron, and the cars looked like huge stage-coaches. On the first road the cars were drawn by horses. Massachusetts planned a road from Boston to Albany

12....

to connect with the Erie Canal (1827). The next year work was begun on the Baltimore and Ohio railroad, the first long railroad in America. A great ceremony took place. Charles Carroll of Carrollton, aged ninety-three, the only living signer of the Declaration of Independence, said, as he drove the spade into the ground: "I consider this among the most important acts of my life, second only to that of signing the Declaration of Independence."

Peter Cooper built one of the first locomotives. To prove its usefulness it ran a race with a horse car. The horse won because the engine slipped a pulley. But it was plain that the locomotive could go faster and not get tired. Short lines of railroad were soon built in various parts of the country.

THE OLD STATES FEEL THE TOUCH OF LIFE

- 334. Old parts of the country move forward. In our enthusiasm over the new and growing West we must not forget that the East, too, had its problems to solve. Every region, old as well as new, felt the touch of new energy after the War of 1812. The old states made improvements in their ways of living. New roads were built, canals were dug for trade and travel, and machinery for spinning and weaving was improved. These states were trying to keep their people from moving to the great West. One result of the westward movement was to make labor scarce and wages higher in the East.
- 335. What the older parts did. The increase in the number of families called for more houses and barns. This created a demand for more lumber and more carpenters. The houses still were heated by wood burned in the great fireplaces (§121). Besides wood, the forests were furnishing timber for fences and shipbuilding. In

every state a large number of small sawmills were slowly cutting away the giant forests.

Mines in several regions were turning out iron to make the machinery for use in mills and factories. Iron ore was smelted mostly by charcoal fires, but coal was begin-

ning to be used in Pennsylvania. Running water was still the cheapest kind of power, and turned the wheels in mill and factory. Steam was not, vet widely used. Hence wherever a saw-



WATER SAWMILL

mill or gristmill or factory was found along streams, large dams were built to furnish a strong flow of water. These dams were great fishing grounds for folks, young and old, on holidays or when the people waited their turn at the mill. 128

336. What these changes meant politically. The men engaged in manufacturing goods joined the West in calling for internal improvements and a protective tariff. So also did the merchants selling goods to western states who wished the young republic made independent of Europe. These men joined their political fortunes to "Young Harry of the West," as they called Henry Clay.

Not all of the people of the older states favored internal improvements and a protective tariff. Some agreed with the Democrats that the states should build their own roads and canals. Hundreds of shipowners at first opposed the protective tariff. Their ships carried goods to Europe and Asia and did not always find it easy to get a return cargo, especially if they had to pay a high tariff on the goods brought back. The cotton raisers, too, opposed the tariff. They wished to sell their product to foreign nations. Foreign merchants wanted to trade their manufactured goods for cotton. But the tariff forced the cotton raiser to pay a higher price for such goods.

NEW STATES INTRODUCE NEW QUESTIONS

337. Population of the West from 1800 to 1830. At the close of the War of 1812 there were 1,600,000 people living in the West (1815). Northwest of the Ohio there were over 700,000 (1820), and southward, if we include Kentucky and Tennessee, the population was much larger. People came to the "Old Northwest" in two

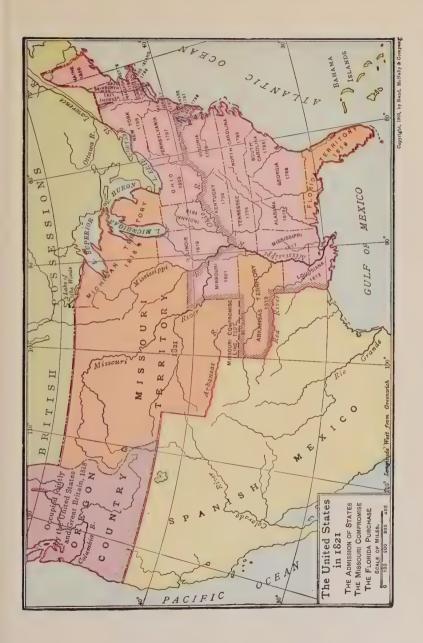


AN OLD FRENCH COURTYARD, NEW ORLEANS

streams: one from the east occupying the northern parts of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and even Missouri; the other from the South, occupying the southern portions of these states. Five states were carved out of this region.

338. Louisiana, the first state in Jefferson's purchase (1812). Before Louisiana came into the

Union, the flags of three nations had flown over her soil. Her great city, New Orleans, contained over 17,000 people





in 1810. More than half of its inhabitants were French. They lived in their own "quarter" and spent a happy, jolly life. They were called "Creoles." Jackson made the city famous by defeating there some of Wellington's veterans (§318). Louisiana is a sugar-producing state.

339. Indiana, the Hoosier state (1816). The first European on Indiana's soil was probably a Frenchman. The French won the hearts of the Indians and built Fort Vincennes. Indiana fell to the British (1763) and was won for the Stars and Stripes by Clark and his backwoodsmen (1779). As a territory in 1800 it included Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin. General Harrison defeated the Indians at Tippecanoe (1811). From the great tide of immigration to the West after the War of 1812, Indiana received her share of the people hunting homes. Between 1810 and 1820 the population grew from 24,500 to over 147,000. For fourteen years Abraham Lincoln made Indiana his home (1816–30). Oliver P. Morton was her great war governor (1861–65), and James Whitcomb Riley, the sweet singer, lived and died within her borders.

340. Mississippi, the home of Jefferson Davis (1817). De Soto discovered the region now known as Mississippi for Spain (1539), but La Salle won it for France (1682). While it was in the possession of France, Tonty, the friend of La Salle, made the first settlement at Natchez (1690). The region fell to Great Britain (1763), but was given to the United States at the close of the Revolution (1783). In 1804 Mississippi Territory, including Alabama, was set off, and in 1817 Mississippi became a state. The population grew from 75,000 in 1820 to 136,000 in 1830. The siege of Vicksburg was the greatest event of its kind in the Civil War. Jefferson Davis, though born in Kentucky, lived most of his life in Mississippi.

341. Illinois the home of Lincoln and Douglas (1818). For ages the children of the red man had paddled up and down the prairie streams of Illinois. The French were the friends of the Illini tribe, and La Salle built Fort St. Louis at Starved Rock for them.

Clark made easy conquest of Kaskaskia and Cahokia. The first capital of Illinois was Kaskaskia. After the rush of people to the state, it was removed to Vandalia. Finally, by Lincoln's aid, Springfield secured it (1836). Lincoln and Douglas were early political rivals. Their joint debates over slavery (§283) drew the attention of the whole country. Chicago, now the second city of the nation, a frontier fort in 1803, was burned in 1812 and rebuilt in 1815. In 1860 its people numbered more than one hundred thousand. General Ulysses S. Grant, an adopted son of the state, was the favorite northern commander in the Civil War.

342. Alabama, the first home of the Confederacy (1819). Alabama was a favorite region with the Indian.



The first French capital was Mobile, settled in 1702. This country fell to Great Britain in 1763 and to the

United States in 1783. The territory of Alabama was set off in 1817 and became a state two years later. By 1820 the people numbered 128,000 and in 1830 had in-

creased to 309,500. The ablest and most fiery orator of the South just before the opening of the Civil War was W. L. Yancey of Alabama. Montgomery was called the "Cradle of the Confederacy."

343. Maine, the last of the New England states (1820). We have seen Maine granted to Gorges and Mason (§79), and its union with Massachusetts (1652). When we won our



WILLIAM LOWNDES YANCEY

independence, Maine was still a part of the older colony. For a long period it was a sort of frontier to the New England states. By consent of Massachusetts, Maine was put forward as a rival to Missouri for admission to the Union. Maine quarreled with New Brunswick over her boundary line. Webster made a treaty with England and settled the trouble. Maine, among the early states, has been the one to hold firm to prohibition of the liquor traffic (1851).

344. Missouri, the home of General Pershing (1821). Missouri was the second child of the Louisiana Purchase. France gave it to Spain (1763), and it was returned to France by a secret treaty (1800). Missouri Territory was marked out when it had 20,000 people (1812). Later, people from the South came here with their slaves

because much of the soil was fine tobacco land. Missouri with its 60,000 people asked for admission to the Union



(1819). The quarrel over the Missouri Compromise kept it out until 1821. St. Louis, the largest city of the Louisiana Purchase, was settled in 1764.

As a center for the fur trade St. Louis has held first place for a long time. It welcomed the world to its doors to witness the Louisiana Purchase Exposition (1904). Missouri is the home state of General Pershing, who was born at Laclede.

345. The race between free and slave states. The cotton gin had given a new meaning to slavery (§278). A contest arose to keep equal the number of free and slave states coming into the Union. After Louisiana entered there were nine of each, and their votes in the Senate were equal (§251). Then followed Indiana, a free state, and Mississippi, a slave state. Illinois was free and Alabama slave. But when Missouri asked to come in (§344) before Maine, the North objected. Both Congress and the people now debated the question.

346. The Missouri Compromise. Congress refused to admit one state without the other. For more than a year the question was before the people. They became very much excited. Jefferson declared: "It sounded like a fire bell in the night." Henry Clay and others brought about a compromise: (1) Maine was admitted as a free state; (2) Missouri came in as a slave state; and (3) slavery was forbidden in the Louisiana Purchase north of the southern boundary of Missouri, or the line of 36°30′. The excitement soon died down.

LATIN AMERICA AND THE MONROE DOCTRINE

347. Spain's trouble with her colonies. We have seen Spain get a foothold in North America, in Mexico, in Florida, and west of the Rocky Mountains (§10). She lost Louisiana to Napoleon and was forced to sell Florida to the United States. But she still held sway in Central

and South America, except in Brazil and in Guiana.

Spain fell under Napoleon's power, and her colonies were left to shift for themselves. They opened trade with both England and the United States. After Napoleon's power was gone, a weak despotic king ruled Spain. When Spanish colonies demanded more rights, they were denied. One by one they rebelled and set up independent governments.



348. Heroic struggle of Spanish-America (1816-22). Spain made a desperate effort to hold her colonies. Two men stand out as heroes in the struggle for independence: San Martin in the La Plata region and Simon Bolivar, who has been called the "Washington of South America," in Venezuela and Colombia. The American people sympathized with the South Americans. Henry Clay, warm-hearted and enthusiastic, roused Congress to recognize their independence. In the meantime Mexico and Central America, too, threw off the Spanish yoke. How are the mighty fallen! Only Cuba and Porto Rico left of all that vast empire in America!

340. The Holy Alliance. European rulers after the time of Napoleon formed what has been named the "Holy Alliance." Its purpose was to keep down revolutions by the people and to suppress men like Napoleon. This Holy Alliance had a black record. It had already put down revolts in Italy and Spain and had put the bad rulers back on their thrones. Now Spain asked its help to get back her colonies. Russia, Prussia, and Austria were members, but England had refused to join. Her people sympathized with the Spanish colonies. Besides, she did not wish to lose her growing trade with them. England, therefore, asked the United States to join in protesting against the effort to reconquer these states for Spain. John Quincy Adams, 130 Monroe's secretary of state, advised against uniting with England in such a protest, but urged President Monroe to make his own statement.

350. The Monroe Doctrine. The Declaration of Independence, the Proclamation of Neutrality (§288), the War of 1812, all point to the fact that America plans to work out her own experiments in republican government, and that she will not permit any nation to hinder her in making them. Hence President Monroe, urged by his

secretary of state, sent forth to the world this declaration: (1) The American continents have assumed a free

and independent position, and are not to be open to future colonization. (2) We have recognized the independence of the Spanish-American republics, and must look upon any act "for the purpose of oppressing them or controlling in any other manner their destiny" as an unfriendly act toward the United States.

The immediate effect was to keep the peace. The Holy Alliance did not aid Spain, and no other



JAMES MONROE

nation has since tried to colonize any territory in the two Americas. With the exception of Maximilian in Mexico, the Monroe Doctrine has kept out foreign nations and has given the nations to the south of us time to get on their feet.

The meaning of England's offer to share the burden of such a declaration shows how quickly old feelings arising out of the War of 1812 were passing away. But the best proof of this is seen in the hundred years of peace celebrated in 1915 between Canada and the United States. What an example this ought to be to Europe!

THE WEST BEGINS TO INFLUENCE POLITICS

351. Monroe, president (1817-23). The era of good feeling. When Monroe came up for reëlection (1822), only one electoral vote was cast against him.131 The Federalist party was dead. With its people united, the nation from 1815 to 1840 was springing forward with

renewed life. We have already seen some of its great strides (§§327, 329-333).

One reason for this rapid growth was the fact that the whole nation had forgotten its party quarrels. The people looked upon President Monroe in his last term as bringing in an "era of good feeling." 132

352. The common man gains more influence. have seen the influence of the common man increasing from colonial days (§107). The new states, as they came into the Union, gave all men the right to vote. The old states had to give all the vote to keep men from leaving for the new states. This made the nation more democratic. The result was a cry against the custom of having Congress nominate the president. This custom had arisen in John Adams' term because no other seemed so natural. But now it was called "undemo-



JOHN QUINCY ADAMS

cratic" (1824). The state legislatures made the nomination until a still more democratic way was found in the national nominating convention (1832).

353. John Quincy Adams, president (1825-20). The election of John Quincy Adams was famous because all candidates belonged to the Republican or Democratic-Republican party. They were Adams, Jackson, Crawford, and Clay. Calhoun was elected vicepresident. No man had a majority of the electoral votes, and the

election went to the House of Representatives (Art. II, §1, ¶3). The race was between Adams, an eastern man, and Jackson, a western man. Henry Clay, opposed to a military hero for president, threw his influence for

Adams, and he was elected. Adams then selected Clay for his secretary of state.

The Jackson men were furious. Clav's influence, they declared, had been bought.



No proof of this charge was ever discovered, but the slander followed Clay all his life. The friends of Jackson found fault with every measure that Adams and Clay favored. They favored high protective tariffs, internal improvements, and friendship with South America.

354. A new kind of candidate and a new campaign. Jackson's men had begun to hurrah for him three years before the election. He was nominated at first by western legislatures (§352). They declared he was born on the frontier, had known poverty, had fought the Indians, and had defeated the British. Now he was going to defeat the politicians and put the people in power.

Jackson was a fine-looking man. He was every inch a soldier, tall and straight. He seemed to look men through with his "eagle eye." Jackson dearly loved a quarrel and even fought duels. He was very polite in the presence of ladies. No man had warmer friends or more bitter enemies. Two of Jackson's most famous friends

were Martin Van Buren, a New York politician, who followed him as president, and Thomas H. Benton, a senator from Missouri with whom he once fought a duel.

355. Jackson at New Orleans again. Jackson politicians introduced the custom of showing their candidate to the people. Other candidates had been too dignified. But the people needed only to see warm-hearted and enthusiastic Andrew Jackson to admire him.

The anniversary of his great victory was the time chosen (January 8, 1828) (§318). From Tennessee to New Orleans his journey was a triumphal procession. A committee came up the Mississippi River to Natchez to greet him.

The boats then dropped down the river to New Orleans. Near the city the river was packed with boats filled with people. The housetops and the river banks



A COMMITTEE OF CITIZENS BIDS JACKSON WELCOME

were crowded. Visitors from far-away New York had come to bring him the good-will of that state. Veterans

who had stood with Jackson when the British charged came to greet the great commander (\$318). The ringing

of bells, the booming of cannon, and the waves of human hurrahs were overpowering. For four days the celebration went on.

There could be only one result from this kind of campaigning, Jackson's overwhelming majority.

356. How the people acted at the inauguration. The spoils of office. The people came in great crowds to see their hero take office. They felt that his election had somehow saved the



ANDREW JACKSON

nation from a great danger. They pushed into the White House, and in their mad rush to see the President, they clambered upon the furniture with their muddy boots, and spilled the pails of drink brought for their enjoyment. Some people—politicians and editors of Jackson newspapers—came for less patriotic reasons. They came to get office. In one year Jackson dismissed from office over seven hundred men, some of whom had been appointed by Washington.

Only one good result flowed from the spoils system. It gave the common man a deeper interest in national politics. From this time forward, "rotation in office" became the rule until long after the Civil War.

357. Jackson, the fighting president. From the day Jackson took office for eight years there was a constant battle. He fought Clay, Calhoun, Webster, and other statesmen; he carried on a long struggle with the United

States bank; he fought nullification by South Carolina; he fought the speculators; he went into the arena of social life and opposed people who refused to do as he did in social matters. Jackson was a fighter in the presidency as well as on the field of battle. He stirred up so much opposition that he was nicknamed "King Andrew I," but the Whigs could not defeat him.

358. New parties and nominating conventions. From 1803 to 1823 the Republican party was splitting (§353). This party was formed to oppose the use of strong national measures, but no one can fail to see in the Louisiana Purchase, the Embargo, the War of 1812, the restoration of Hamilton's bank, and in the protective tariff the use of strong national powers.

John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, and Daniel Webster



gradually took up the idea of the nation using great power. They called themselves National Republicans and claimed to be true followers of Jefferson.

The National Republicans first met in national convention in Baltimore and nominated their favorite, Henry Clay. He was badly defeated by Jackson in 1832. The other portion of Jefferson's party began to call themselves Democrats. They, too, held a national nominating convention and put up Jackson and Van Buren.

The name Whig took the place of National Republican, and all sorts of men gathered under this historic name in

opposition to "King Andrew." Clay was the party's most beloved leader. He was three times a candidate for president, but he could not win. Another leader was Webster, the man of greatest eloquence in his time, who died wanting to be president but was not even nominated. Calhoun. the deep thinker, though not a Whig, supported the opposition to Jackson for a time. But Calhoun could never "pull in party harness."

- 350. Jackson believes the bank an enemy of the people. Tackson was fully convinced that the bank made the rich richer and the poor poorer. He therefore opposed its recharter. Henry Clay, the friend of the bank, made the granting of a new charter a question in the campaign of 1832. Jackson easily won the election and declared that by their votes the people had commanded him to destroy the bank. He took all United States money out of it, and it died before its old charter ran out. 133
- 360. Pet banks and the panic of 1837. With the United States bank gone, state banks came flocking back. These banks seemed to be more democratic. Certain of them were called "pet banks" because the government favored them by putting its money in them. Tackson, it was said, favored their making it easy for the people to borrow money. These banks did this by putting out vast sums of "paper money," which were promises to pay when the bank had real money.

Everybody was borrowing money to speculate in public lands. The government sold lands at \$1.25 per acre. Speculators bought and sold again at a higher price. "The thing was easy." Towns, cities, and states were borrowing money.

But the crisis soon came. The paper money of the banks was pouring into the United States treasury.

Much of it was not worth fifty cents on the dollar. Something must be done. Jackson acted quickly. He sent forth his "Specie Circular" demanding that only gold and silver be paid to the government. Enough gold and silver could not be had. Banks, pet banks and all, went down. Business houses were ruined, and factories closed their doors. Canal and railroad building stopped, and thousands of laborers were thrown out of work. The panic of 1837 was the hardest the United States had seen.

361. Van Buren, president (1837-41). We have seen that Van Buren was a warm supporter of Jackson (§354), and he was made secretary of state. Van Buren stood faithfully by Jackson in all his "fights." Jackson resolved to make him president. He was elected, but had to bear

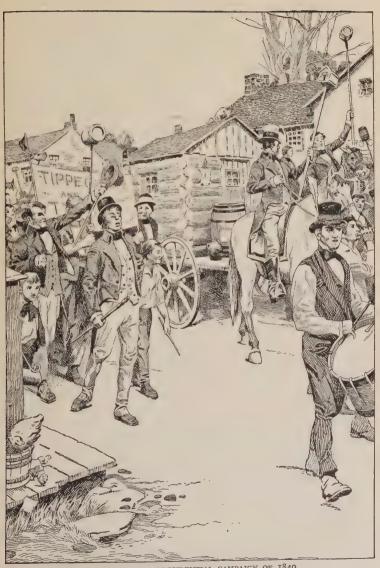


MARTIN VAN BUREN

the burden of blame for the suffering from the panic of 1837. The people asked the government for help, but Van Buren refused it.

362. The log cabin campaign (1840). The 1840 campaign began in 1837, another three years' contest (§354). Its opening was more exciting than that of any Jackson campaign. Harrison was the candidate of the Whigs. He, too, was a western hero. He had beaten the Indians and defeated the British on Canadian soil

at the battle of the Thames. He was now the plain Ohio farmer with his latchstring always out to old soldiers.



POLITICAL PARADE, PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN OF 1840

Van Buren was the "little aristocrat." He had always held office, lived in a "palace," ridden in a fine carriage;



WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

while the laborer had been without work and the business man a bankrupt. Such demonstrations, and processions and barbecues! Never had so many great orators stirred the people. Webster and Clay were at their best. The Whigs aroused patriotic feeling by meetings held on great battlefields. Thousands upon thousands gathered at Tippecanoe (§313) and at Bunker Hill (§195).

Miniature log cabins with

the latchstrings out, live raccoons sporting over the roofs, and barrels of hard cider with farmers drinking were carried on large wagons. Great balls, drawn by horses, were rolling on to show how the coming of victory was rolling on; catchy songs of "Tippecanoe and Tyler too" added interest and aroused enthusiasm. The Democrats could not check the tide of victory. It swept Harrison into office by over 140,000 majority of the people's vote, and with nearly four times as many electoral votes as Van Buren had.

363. The significance of the Whig victory. The West had won again. The common man was taking a far deeper interest in national life. Henry Clay now talked like Jackson; he said that the people had commanded the Whigs to kill certain Democratic measures. But Harrison died suddenly after only a few weeks in office. John Tyler

became president (Art. II, §1, ¶6). He guarreled with the Whig leaders and the Whig program failed (§326).

364. Old World habits die hard. Events in the East showed that the democratic movement was at work throwing off Old World notions. In Rhode Island the people had outgrown their old charter (§83) and called for one giving to all men the right to vote. After Dorr's rebellion this new privilege was granted.

Another old custom went down. The farmers on the patroons' estates, tired of paying quitrents (§§86, 118), resisted and were granted the right to buy the farms from the owners. It took over two hundred years to get rid of this custom. Old usages die hard.

SUGGESTED READINGS

References for teachers: Wilson, Division and Reunion, 17-92; Elson, Side Lights on American History, chaps. viii-x; Hart, Formation of the Union, 233-262; Hart, Contemporaries, III, 452-483, 499-501; Hart, Patriots and Statesmen, III, 327-383; McMaster, History of the American People, V, chap. liii; VI, chaps. liv, lxv; Bassett, Short History, 345-349, 382-426; Morse, John Quincy Adams ("American Statesmen Series"), 164-174; Schurz, Life of Henry Clay, I, 221-235; II, 113-127, 171-197; Coman, Industrial History.

References for pupils: Hart, Source Book, 226-240; Hart, Patriots and Statesmen, III, 192-317; Mace, Stories of Heroism, 225-233; Frost, Mill Boy of the Stashes; Wright, Children's Stories of American Progress, 179-194; Hart, Source Reader, II, 99-104; Great Epochs in American History, V, 133-157, 180-191.

PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

I. Imagine a company of boys and girls on the National Road. Write up an account of the journey. 2. Go with Governor De Witt Clinton on the canal from Buffalo to New York. Write a sketch of the trip. 3. Hold an oral debate on Jackson and Clay as leaders of the parties in 1832. 4. Write a sketch of the campaign of 1840 for Greeley's Log Cabin Whig paper.

CHAPTER XV

SOCIAL CHANGES

CHANGES IN THE MANNER OF LIVING

365. Growth of the nation. In 1790 no one dreamed of a nation that in fifty years would have increased its area over three times and the number of its people nearly eight times. In twenty years more we had admitted to the Union two states and one territory on the Pacific (1860). Then we boasted of over 31,000,000 people in thirty-two states and nine territories. Thirty years before we had numbered but 13,000,000 people. In 1790 the North was very little ahead in the race, but by 1860 she had forged ahead by mighty leaps, counting 19,000,000 people to 12,000,000 in the South.

The cities showed a still greater difference: New York had jumped from 240,000 (1830) to over 800,000 (1860); Philadelphia from 70,000 in 1800 to over 565,000 in 1860; Cincinnati, St. Louis, and Chicago were running neck and neck for first place, with over 100,000 each. Ten cities had a population ranging from nearly 100,000 to over 500,000 each. Only three were in the South, and only one joined the Confederacy. This difference in favor of the North was largely due to immigration. In 1830 only one person in fourteen lived in the city; in 1860 about one in six. In this respect the South had a great advantage: the number of her people living in the city was very small.

366. European immigration and its effects. The vast majority of our people at the close of the Revolution spoke the English language. Before 1820 the large majority

joining the two streams to the West were children of this old English-speaking stock.

To Europeans, America had always been a land of promise. In the year 1830 twice as many migrated to America as in 1820. During the next ten years 500,000 came. Between 1850 and 1860 in one year 400,000 reached this country. Thousands came from Germany to escape punishment by the government for taking part in the rebellion to make Germany free (1848). 185

Ireland suffered from a potato famine. Nearly a million people perished in spite of help sent from other countries. Thousands upon thousands of the Irish sought homes in America.¹³⁶

367. Where the immigrants went and why. Why did the immigrants pour into the North? Because in the cities and in the country they could find work. There were many occupations, but the South had only a few.

Germans generally went to the frontier states of Iowa, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Missou! But the Irish loved the cities with their social attractions.

368. Home life and pastimes on the frontier (1840-60). Many changes had come into the home life and pastimes on the frontier, owing largely to the progress of the people themselves, but partly owing to the inflow of foreigners. The Germans emphasized Christmas with small trees burdened with lights and gifts. They were also great lovers of music, and organized bands which played in the country schoolhouses.

Among English people the frontier pastimes were very like those of old colony days (§123). New ones since that time were the neighborhood spelling bees and the neighborhood debates. When the people of two neighborhoods met to decide which should win, no place was

large enough to hold those who came from miles and miles around. Likewise, the frontier camp meeting was



A FRONTIER CAMP MEETING

made an occasion for young people to meet and to enjoythemselves.

369. Home life and pastimes in the older states. There had been greater changes in the home life and pastimes of the people of the

older communities than in those of the frontiersmen. The mine, the mill, and the factory were the great causes. Working families did not do their manufacturing at home (§148). They had to go to some great factory. This separated children from their parents. If the parents were poor or if they were more interested in wages than in the education of their children, the young folks also had to work long hours in the factory. Sometimes they worked in rooms dangerous to their health. With the members of families separated, the children grew up unused to the careful oversight and the helpful advice of parents.

Sometimes, when the parents could afford it, the older children cared for the younger. These conditions did not favor happy and healthful pastimes, such as were enjoyed by the better classes in the community. The children of factory people, except on Sunday or on a holiday, did not enjoy games to the full, such as rowing, swimming, skating, coasting, wrestling, running, jumping, and the various games of ball. These forms of exercise

were all fine tests of the muscle of the boys and girls who could take part in them.

THE FINAL STRUGGLE TO KEEP THE BALANCE OF POWER

370. Arkansas (1836) and Michigan (1837). Arkansas was first claimed by Spain. The French settled it. It went to Spain (1763) and back to France under Napoleon. The Louisiana Purchase gave it to the United States. Arkansas Territory, including Indian Territory, was set up in 1818. In 1836 Arkansas was admitted to the Union which she left in 1861.

Michigan, the Wolverine state, resounded first to the Indian war cry. Then came the French missionary and fur trader. Father Marquette was one of its early heroes. He founded Sault Ste. Marie (1668). Detroit was settled by the French (1701). The treaty of 1763 gave Michigan to England, but it became the scene of Pontiac's struggles for his hunting grounds. Michigan became a part of the United States (1783) and came under the famous Ordinance of 1787. Michigan was the scene of stirring events in the War of 1812. What Hull lost Harrison won back. The University of Michigan was founded in 1837. Senator Lewis Cass was among the state's most famous men in early days. Detroit, seat of the world's largest automobile industry, is the fourth city in size in the United States.

371. Florida (1845) and Texas (1845). Florida was a favorite region for early Spanish explorations. De Leon looked for the fountain of youth, and De Soto for gold. The history of Florida is set forth in events already noted (§§22, 60, 347). Of late years it has become famous as a winter resort.

Texas was visited by La Salle while he was seeking the mouth of the Mississippi (§164). The Spaniards claimed

this region, and the United States surrendered it in exchange for Florida. The history of Texas is fully set forth elsewhere in this book (§§411-413).

372. Iowa (1846) and Wisconsin (1848). The balance in the Senate, upset by the admission of Florida and Texas, was restored by the entrance into the Union of Iowa and Wisconsin.

Iowa, the Hawkeye state, was the home of the Sioux Indians, a great warlike tribe. The Spanish claimed the region, and the French did likewise. It was given to Spain (1763) and returned to France to satisfy Napoleon. He sold Louisiana to Jefferson, and Iowa became a part of United States territory (1803). Dubuque had already been settled (1788). First a part of Louisiana and of several other states, Iowa was set off in 1838 as a territory. Immigration flowed in, and the Sioux Indians tried to put a stop to it by the massacre at Spirit Lake (1857). Population grew from 19,000 (1850) to 674,000 in 1860—a tremendous increase. Kirkwood was Iowa's great war governor. Senator Allison served Iowa with distinction in the Senate, 1873—1908.

Wisconsin, the Badger state, was a favorite region of the red man. Here, too, the French fur trader gathered large numbers of pelts, and the missionary early set up his altar. Wisconsin goes back to Old Dominion days according to the Virginia charter (1609). Virginia turned her over, with her sister states, to the Union (1784), and she became a part of the Old Northwest (§248). In the War of 1812 Canadians and Indians captured Prairie du Chien. After the Black Hawk War a large number of people came into this region from the eastern states. In 1836 Wisconsin was made into a territory, but included Minnesota, Iowa, and part of the Dakotas. From 1840

to 1860 Scandinavians and Germans poured in, in large numbers. Anti-slavery sentiment was strong and led the state supreme court to declare the Fugitive Slave Law unconstitutional. In no other state have as many German farmers settled.

373. California (1850), Minnesota (1858), and Oregon (1859). These three states broke forever the balance of power in the Senate.

California, the second largest state in the Union, is known as the "Golden state." Spaniards from Mexico came into this region, built their missions, converted the Indians, and taught them useful trades. California fell to the United States as a result of the Mexican War (1848). The discovery of gold (1848) drew thousands to this region and made a state organization necessary. California, therefore, had no territorial government (§266). The South hoped to capture the southern part of the state by extending the line 36° 30' to the Pacific. The population grew from 92,000 in 1850 to 379,000 in 1860. People soon turned their attention to agriculture and fruit raising and found more wealth than in mining. In southern California lie the Imperial Valley, one of the richest in the world, and Death Valley, a salty, sandy region below sea level. Two of the most famous playgrounds of the United States are the Yosemite and Sequoia parks. Both are national reservations for the people.

Minnesota, the Gopher state, ran the round of ownership by the Indians, French, Spanish, French again, and finally by the United States. Duluth, a Frenchman, built a fort at Pigeon River (1678) and in 1680 Hennepin discovered the Falls of St. Anthony. Pike saw this region in 1805 (§302). Fort St. Anthony was built in 1820, and in 1823 the first steamboat came to the Falls. St. Paul

had its beginnings in 1841 in the building of a chapel. The territory of Minnesota was organized in 1849, extending west to the Missouri River. Minneapolis sprang into existence in 1855. Little Crow and his braves, in trying to check the rush of settlers, killed eight hundred whites. Ramsey was Minnesota's war governor and had the honor of offering Lincoln the first troops in the war. The Germans and Scandinavians migrated to Minnesota in large numbers. From 1850 to 1860 the number of her people grew from 6,000 to over 172,000.

"The Oregon Country" was a vast stretch of region north of California, west of the Rockies, and extending north to Alaska. The Spanish, French, English, the Russians, and the Americans claimed this country. Much of Oregon's history is told in other places (§§301,414–18). The settlers met (1843), established territorial machinery, and managed the government until the United States organized a regular territory (1848). It included much of Idaho and all of Washington. The people again met, framed a constitution, and were admitted to the Union (1851). Oregon's greatest growth in population was between 1900 and 1910, when it gained nearly 260,000 people. Portland, the chief city of Oregon, celebrates annually the "Feast of Roses." It is called the Rose City.

374. Mormon migration. Joseph Smith organized the Mormon church, or the Church of the Latter Day Saints, (1830). He proclaimed to the world that he had received revelations from God. A little later the Mormons moved from New York to Ohio and then to Missouri. Afterward they moved to Illinois (1839). Their religious beliefs roused the hatred of their neighbors. Harsh treatment followed, and Joseph Smith was shot.

The Mormons, led by Brigham Young, began a long, hard journey westward. They toiled across deserts, over the Rocky Mountains, and on until they reached Great Salt Lake (1847). Here they began to lay out towns and farms. They were pioneers in irrigation in this country soon this region blossomed as the rose.

EDUCATIONAL CHANGES

375. Progress in the common schools. We saw the struggle of the pioneer and his children for an education. During the first half of the nineteenth century, especially after 1830, great progress had been made. In nearly every northern state, systems of common schools had been established. At first this meant in the country only a few months of school in log schoolhouses, poorly lighted and heated, and with poor helps for teacher and pupil. The teacher was not required to know much. His preparation covered little more than the requirements of the school he taught. Even this sort of school marked a great advance over the schools of earlier times.

In the cities changes were greater. There the schools were graded and had a superintendent if the city was large and progressive enough, and if it could spare the money. Textbooks in reading and other subjects had long been in use. In many schools the teacher was prized if he could set fairly correct copies in a bold hand for the children. There are numbers of people yet living who used to "sing their geography lessons."

376. The academy and the high school. The academy arose before the Revolution. It was a great improvement over the old Latin school (§125). It put more emphasis on English studies. After the Revolution academies spread rapidly over the country, because they were more

democratic than the Latin schools. Still they were not supported by taxes.

To meet the rising tide of democracy a new school sprang into existence about 1820. The high school, as it came to be called, was supported by taxes and controlled by the people. It was intended to fit the children of rich and poor alike for the daily work of life.

We should expect the high school to spread rapidly westward. The constitution of Indiana (1816) laid the foundation for a complete system of education extending from the common schools through the university. But nothing was done in this or any other western state for a long time.

377. Men working for better schools. Horace Mann of Massachusetts holds high rank among those working for better schools. He appealed to the people through



the newspapers and through pamphlets. He went to the people, met them in public meetings, and reasoned with them. He told them that they must grant more money for the support of schools and for better pay for teachers. He urged teachers to become better fitted to do their work. He saw the first normal school established in the United States in 1839.

Henry Barnard, 137 of New England, worked in much the same way. In addition to

his other work, he published a Journal of Education, the first paper for teachers in the United States.

378. The education of woman. In colonial times boys and girls went to separate schools. One of our



THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA AT CHARLOTTESVILLE

democratic changes was to throw the common schools open to girls. The mingling of boys and girls in high schools was not common. Some great cities to lead the way in this respect were Philadelphia, Cleveland, Chicago, Providence, and Indianapolis.

In the field of higher education woman was slowly gaining. As early as 1814 the Albany Female Academy was established. Emma Willard founded the Troy Female Academy (1821), and Mary Lyon followed with Mount Holyoke Female Academy (1837), a truly democratic school. It required each student to reduce the cost of her education by spending part of her time in doing household work. The country was surprised anew when New Orleans College threw its doors open to women on the same terms as to men (1833). Antioch College soon followed suit, for Horace Mann was its president.

379. The growth of university education. The colonial colleges generally belonged to some religious denomination. After the Revolution the Presbyterians, Baptists, and Methodists added colleges. But a change in university education came when state universities were

founded in the new states as well as in some of the older ones. Washington was the advocate of a national university and left an estate to found one. Jefferson, in his last days, saw his dream come true in the University of Virginia (1825). The University of Michigan, one of the largest of the state schools, was founded in 1837. The University of North Carolina is the oldest state university (1795).

THE FIRST SIGNS OF A NATIONAL LITERATURE

380. The era stirs men to write. Americans before the Revolution had done some writing (§270), but now for the first time they took American subjects. They were stirred by the new life to write. Washington Irving (1783–1859) attracted attention by his quaint fun in Knickerbocker's History of New York, by his interesting stories in the Sketch Book, and by his charming

JAMES FENIMORE COOPER

Life of Christopher Columbus.

James Fenimore Cooper (1789–1851) in his Spy and in other novels was disproving Europe's opinion that we had no subjects fit for writers. Hawthorne (1804–64) kept up the reputation of American stories by his Twice-Told Tales, by the House of Seven Gables, and by the Scarlet Letter.

381. A group of beloved poets. William Cullen Bryant (1794–1878) astonished the

country by writing "Thanatopsis" at the age of seventeen. His poems (1821) contained a lesson of faith in the lines

"To a Waterfowl." Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-82), although a philosopher, wrote many thoughtful poems.

In the days of stress and strain were born (1807) two of our poets most beloved by school children, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow and John Greenleaf Whittier. While Longfellow was yet a student at Harvard he wrote that beautiful poem. "Hymn to the Moravian Nuns," celebrating the gift of a banner to Pulaski (§208) by nuns at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. Whittier, a farmer and a



HENRY W. LONGFELLOW

Quaker, has been called the poet of freedom because he wrote so much against slavery. When but eighteen years of age he published "The Exiles' Departure." Oliver Wendell Holmes (1809–94) gave to the world many poems as well as prose works of high merit. Among his earliest poems was "Old Ironsides," which saved the ship "Constitution" (§314) from being destroyed (1830). James Russell Lowell (1819–91), one of America's greatest literary men, dipped his pen in gall and wrote the Biglow Papers. His poetry touched a high plane. Edgar Allen Poe (1809–49), whose best known poem is "The Raven," but whose strange prose sketches are almost as noted, spent most of his short life in the South.

382. Newspapers and magazines. The oldest newspaper still alive in the United States is the New Hampshire

Gazette (1756). The rapid growth of city population after the War of 1812 gave newspapers thousands of readers. The daily papers were so full of paying advertisements that their price was reduced. The New York Sun was the first to sell at a penny (1833). In 1841 the New York Tribune came into being. For over a quarter of a century it was the greatest newspaper in America.

The spread of popular education made it easy for everybody to enjoy reading of all sorts. Magazines had been published before the Revolution. One of the greatest of them, the North American Review, was first published in 1815. Then rapidly followed Harper's, the Atlantic Monthly, and the Southern Literary Messenger. The Ladies' Magazine appeared in 1827.

In the latter part of this period the lyceum sprang into existence. It did much to bring before the people some of the most forceful and eloquent speakers of that time.

AN ERA OF MORAL REFORM

383. The early settlers religious. Those who moved across the Allegheny Mountains from the East were church-going people. They felt the need of churches in the new communities.

Among the more aggressive denominations were the Methodists. They sent forth preachers called "circuit riders." These rode horseback, carrying a pair of saddle-bags containing a few books and sometimes food. It often took the circuit rider a month to make one trip in his district. He preached, comforted the sick, married the young, and buried the dead.

A new thing among the scattered settlements of the frontier was the camp meeting. It has since spread to all parts of the country under one name or another.

Families traveled to it in wagons, on horseback, and afoot. They carried food and tents for sleeping. Great crowds gathered to hear the preacher, often some man of wide reputation. It was a time of strong feeling. Preachers did not stop short of plain speaking about the sins of the people and the dangers of everlasting punishment.

Cartwright, famous throughout the West for melting an audience to tears and stirring it up until some had the "jerks," 139 was a great figure at these camp meetings. The meetings often continued for more than a week. They were made a place for meeting friends. Sometimes politicians came around to shake hands and to "visit with the people."

384. New church denominations. Many new denominations came in with the tide of European immigration after the Napoleonic wars. In the Northwest mainly were the Danish, Swedish, Norwegian, and German Protestants. Roman Catholics began to increase rapidly as a result of European migration.

Many of the old denominations split because one part began to emphasize some point of difference. On the question of slavery, between 1849 and 1850, a number split into a northern and a southern church.

385. The rise of kindlier feelings. Brandings and public whippings had about gone out of fashion (§135). Pennsylvania kept the lead given by her founder (§135). She had improved her jails, separating the old from the young. Her methods were slowly spreading to other states. There was much room for improvement in the conditions of jails and in the treatment of criminals.

Thanks to the work of Dorothea Dix, a brighter day was dawning for the insane. She claimed it was the duty of the state to take care of these unfortunates

instead of leaving them to the care of private persons or to communities.

A great change came when it was decided to put nobody in prison for debt. How long it takes to get rid of old ideas and customs (§§58, 273)!

386. Labor conditions. The improvement of labor conditions by making the shop a better place for work, by having shorter working hours, and by raising wages were all tried during this period. Not much was gained because the employer felt that his business was nobody's affair but his own. Outside of the great mines and factories laborers were not so badly off. There was plenty of work in the country, except during the panic of 1837, and the cost of living was very low.

Men working on canals or railroads, as laborers on boats, or as workmen on new roads found a growing demand for more workers. The farmer and his hands labored from sunrise to sunset, and there was little chance to lessen this burden. Labor unions began in a small way after the Revolution. The mechanics first united in 1827, and in 1837 an attempt was made to form a national organization. These unions favored popular education and tried to prevent child labor. But for the most part they went into politics and accomplished very little.

387. Woman suffrage. We have seen our new democracy call for woman's rights (§§239, 240). Woman's field of work did not extend much beyond the home. Why should she be kept out of all professions except teaching, and why should there not be better treatment of women teachers? Women finally concluded that all rights would come to them when they had the privilege of voting. The first convention for woman's rights was held in Seneca Falls, New York (1848).

388. Other organizations for moral changes. Strong drink was common at social gatherings in this period, even ministers of the gospel sometimes drinking without fear of being blamed. To combat this growing evil the Washingtonians sprang into existence. Thousands of men and women joined the movement and pledged themselves to moderate drinking. This new reform was helped by the work of Father Matthew among the Roman Catholics, and among the Protestants by the efforts of the Good Templar societies.

THE GROWTH OF INDUSTRY

389. The farmer and the new movements. When mighty reforms are sweeping the country, the farmer is gradually influenced by them. He is very conservative because to mingle with his fellows he must stop his work and go where they are. But he was answering more promptly to the great inventions which made it easy to do things. Inventions to take care of wheat, grass, and corn brought about many changes important to him.

390. The leading machines on the farms. In this great period of new things, Cyrus H. McCormick¹⁴⁰ came with his reaper and mower (1831). How quickly the farmer cut his wheat or mowed his meadow! He could now do more work with less help and



CUTTING GRAIN WITH THE SICKLE

do it more easily. The next year he sowed more wheat than ever. The mower, drawn by two horses, took the place of the scythe; and a "horse rake" took the place of the hand rake. The next year the farmer had larger



THE ORIGINAL MCCORMICK HARVESTER

meadows. The "separator" came; it improved the old thresher and added a "straw stacker" to carry the straw up into the loft of the barn or upon a straw stack.

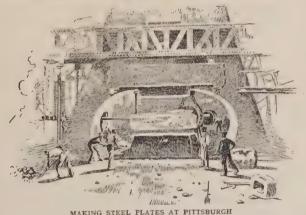
Other inventions that lessened labor and increased production on the farm were improvements in the "breaking" plow for turning the furrows in the field. This plow was of steel, enabling it to run deeper and smoother.

The corn drill and the wheat drill also came to lighten labor and to make it easier to sow greater quantities of grain, and thus to make more work for the other machines.

In the cotton-raising section of the South not many new machines were needed. Improvements in the cotton gin had been made (§278). The planter could now raise as much cotton as the markets in Europe and America needed, and he could sell no more.

391. Increase in manufactures (1820-60). We have already seen factories beginning to increase rapidly in numbers (§275). The great European migration provided plenty of labor. In the older states steam began to take the place of water. Whether or not a town was on a large stream it could have a factory. The tariff gave a big start to manufacturing. Then Clay's compromise tariff (1833-43) came, but the mills did not close again even when the low tariff of 1846 was passed by Congress. They made good in spite of European trade.

The manufacture of iron goods was now greatly improved. It was discovered that hard coal instead of charcoal could be used to melt iron ore, and thus pig iron was made much cheaper. Cheap pig iron gave the rolling mills plenty of work to do. From their work came better and cheaper tools of all kinds—cheaper spinning machines, cheaper looms, and cheaper engines.



392. Beginning of woman's freedom from drudgery. Inventions for the household did not keep pace with inventions in other lines. But the time of woman's

freedom was coming. The invention of the cook stove promised to give her much relief.

Many men had puzzled their brains over the invention of a sewing machine. Finally Elias Howe after years of poverty and toil reached success.¹⁴¹ He was granted a



HOWE'S FIRST SEWING MACHINE MODEL

patent in 1846.

Matches came to us from Europe and have finally taken the place of striking fire by the use of a flint or by carrying coals from the neighbors.

To the women of the household fell the lot of making the tallow candles. This was hard work, since the tallow came when a cow or an ox was killed for meat.

What a blessing to everybody were the lamps!

303. Other inventions. (1) One of the most useful of all inventions was the Hoe rotary printing press. This explains why the great newspapers were turned out at such small cost (§382). (2) Before this time pictures had to be carved on wooden or metal plates. This was very slow work. But in 1839 a Frenchman succeeded in getting a picture by turning sunlight on a copper plate covered with a film of silver. From his name these pictures were called "daguerreotypes." Following this step, rapid strides have been made until today we have the "movie films" and pictures taken from airplanes. (3) A discovery which has brought about a wonderful change in things was Goodvear's solution of the manufacture of rubber by the use of sulphur. This made it possible to produce "rubber goods" and scores of other articles. (4) How people who came under the surgeon's knife must have thanked their stars for the discovery of "ether." If ether is taken into the lungs, a person can have an operation performed without feeling it.

394. Coal and iron mines. Soft coal has been found in almost all of the states from the Great Lakes to the Gulf.

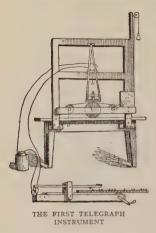


THE COAL FIELDS OF THE UNITED STATES

In this period anthracite or hard coal came into use. By 1848 ten canals and twenty-five railroads were carrying coal and iron away from places where nature had stored them. Its coal and iron have made Pennsylvania the second state in population, and Pittsburgh the center of this trade.

395. Morse invents the telegraph (1844). The ends of the earth were now brought together by the invention of the "magnetic telegraph." Samuel F. B. Morse 142 is the man to whom most honor is due for this discovery, although we must not forget Alfred Vail, whose skill and shop were always open to Morse. After years of poverty Morse received from Congress \$30,000 (1843) to build a

line from Washington to Baltimore. This was completed in time to announce the nomination of James K. Polk



for president. Morse lived to see his invention widely adopted and to receive medals struck in his honor by European nations.

396. The Atlantic cable joins Europe and America. Commodore Maury had studied the bottom of the Atlantic. He suggested to Cyrus W. Field, a rich New Yorker, the idea of joining the Old World to the New by Morse's invention. Friends in America and England aided, and Congress gave money for the

work. The cable began to uncoil in August, 1857. Three hundred miles out the line snapped. It cost \$500,000 to mend it. Again it broke. Field would not give up.

Over the cable in 1858 Queen Victoria and President Buchanan exchanged greetings. While New York City was giving the conqueror of the Atlantic a great banquet, the cable parted once more. But Field would not surrender. The cable was completed, and Europe and America were tied together for better or for worse (1866).

397. The rapid growth of railroads (1840-60). Road and canal building was forging ahead when the panic of 1837 struck the country. Railroads, however, by giving quicker service, gained first place after the panic. At first they were built in short stretches. A person going from Albany to Buffalo was compelled to change cars several times and had to buy a ticket on each train.

Soon a traveler could go from Boston to Buffalo (1842), but it was not until 1852 that one could reach Chicago by rail. The year 1857 stands out in railroad history, for in that year Chicago and St. Louis were joined by rail, and the Baltimore and Ohio road reached the latter city. By 1860 most of the larger cities in the North had been joined together by bands of iron. Unfortunately only a few lines, such as the Illinois Central,



THE RAILROADS OF THE UNITED STATES IN 1860

ran from North to South, thus promoting an exchange of friendly feelings between those two sections.

In this period the United States, unlike some European governments, did not own any railroads. It did grant aid to build certain lines. Some of the states aided in building railroads, and some built them entirely. But in time all railroads were owned by private persons.

398. Cheaper postage. The first expressman. England had long since set the example of cheap postage (1839). To send a single-page letter in the United States cost from 6 to 25 cents, according to distance. In 1851 Congress established the 3 cent rate for letters. But no parcel post was established then, and an enterprising young man, William F. Harnden, began to carry packages between Boston and New York. The example set by Harnden led to the formation of the express companies of America.

399. Steamships. The increase and improvement in steamboats on American rivers showed men a quicker way to cross the ocean. Already the "Savannah" had made the trip using both sails and steam (1819). Men were working hard to improve the engines when coal was introduced as a fuel. By this means the "Sirius"



THE "SAVANNAH"

and the "Great Western" both crossed the ocean without the aid of sails (1837). By 1847 the trip was reduced to eleven days. When gold was discovered in Cali-

fornia, steamships carried people to Panama. Others carried them from the western coast of the Isthmus to California. Some ships went by the Straits of Magellan.

400. Home and foreign trade (1830-50). The building of canals increased trade on the Great Lakes. There was six times as much trade in 1830 as in 1820. By 1840 this trade had grown to three times the amount of 1830. In 1851 Ohio sent 12,000,000 bushels of wheat to the East.

The "clipper" ship, an American invention, gave America first place as a rapid carrier of trade. The European wars again put a great trade in American hands (§§289,297). Our clippers traded even with China and India.

In the year 1854 Commodore Matthew C. Perry brought us into friendly relations with Japan. The Japanese had never before admitted foreigners, but after Perry and his warships had visited Japan, the United States made treaties of friendship and trade with that country.

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chaps, xlii-xliii.

PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. Write a story about the Irish and German immigrants in 1850.
2. Three boys start for California to dig gold. Each takes a different route and writes back to his friends. 3. Attend a country debate in 1860. Write about the subject debated and the arguments used.
4. A girl in 1860 writes a story of woman's efforts to get into men's colleges, into business, and into teaching. 5. Write a brief story of Dorothea Dix. 6. You are a reporter. Write about the banquet given Cyrus W. Field.

CHAPTER XVI

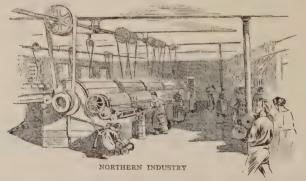
THE QUESTION OF SLAVERY

ECONOMIC CONTRASTS

401. Where differences between North and South came from. Behind all the difficulty between North and South lay the difference in soil and climate. The South raised tobacco, rice, and cotton, but did not manufacture much. From colonial times the South had sold part of its crops to Europe. But the protective tariff made the South pay a higher price for goods bought abroad.

The tariff had made the North a manufacturing section. Hence it had to have cotton for its mills. The South wanted to buy goods made in Europe. Hence, it opposed the American tariff.

402. Opposition to the tariff. In the early days of the protective tariff many men in the South thought they



would build mills and factories and manufacture the cotton they raised (§322). They saw their mistake, and most of them opposed the tariffs of 1824 and 1828. By

1828 the majority of the northern congressmen, including Webster, favored the tariff (§336). The battle against

the protective tariff began in earnest when Calhoun, then vice-president, took strong ground against it in a long letter sent to South Carolina. He took the position that a state might nullify a law of Congress (§204).

403. The Webster-Hayne debate (1830). Senator Havne of South Carolina made a brilliant



SOUTHERN INDUSTRY BEFORE THE WAR

defense of the right of a state to nullify an act of Congress. He attacked New England in this speech, and Daniel Webster felt called upon to reply. On that occasion the Senate was crowded; standing room was not to be had on the floor or in the galleries. People had come from distant cities and "grave senators were lost in the crowd of gay ladies."

How grand was the scene when Webster arose! His fine figure, massive head, and large, deep-set eyes attracted attention the moment he began to speak. He spoke for hours, linking arguments into a chain that could not be broken. He declared that no state had ever had the right to nullify the laws of Congress. Then with deep feeling he described the glories of a strong and lasting union, closing with the immortal words: "Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable." Americans have come to accept Webster's point of view, and since the Civil War no state has tried to nullify an act of Congress.

WEBSTER-HAYNE DEBATE, WEBSTER'S REPLY

404. The tariff nullified by South Carolina (1832). The battle against the tariff went on. The nullifiers tried to win Jackson to their side. But at Jefferson's birthday dinner he threw a bombshell into their midst by offering the toast: "The Federal Union: It must be preserved."

Nevertheless South Carolina called a convention which declared the tariff "null and void," and forbade the United States revenue officers to collect it in her ports. This convention declared that if force were used, South Carolina would leave the Union. Jackson was angry. He sent forth a proclamation denying, as Webster had done, the right of a state to nullify a law or to leave the Union. He had ordered General Scott to Charleston harbor. He also sent war vessels there, declaring the Federal laws should be enforced without fear or favor.

405. The "Force Bill" and the compromise (1833). Union men everywhere praised Jackson for his stand. He now called on Congress to grant him the right to use the army and navy if need be. Clay introduced his compromise to cut down the tariff, little by little, for ten years. Both bills passed Congress the same day. 144 This was a happy settlement, for no man can tell what the result might have been had South Carolina resisted or seceded.

BEGINNING TO AGITATE OVER SLAVERY

406. What slavery was like. Slavery has been touched on frequently (§§41, 111, 252, 278, 345), but now it begins to divide our people and calls for closer study. The slaves were bought and sold like other property. Hence slaves did not have very much ambition to learn to read or to improve their condition. A mistress sometimes taught them to read, and certain of the faithful negroes were permitted to preach to them.

There was little home life among them. Their houses were small and poorly kept. There was constant danger that father or mother, son or sister, might be sold to planters far away.

The slaves, as a rule, were kindly treated, especially the household and the body servants. The master valued highly such slaves as he could trust. The "mammies," who cared for the young white children, were greatly beloved by them.

407. The rise of the Abolitionists. After the cotton gin came into use (\$278), opposition to slavery, even in the North, seemed to die down. About 1830 people in Europe and America began new movements for bettering the conditions of men. Among these people were the Abolitionists, who demanded that all slaves should be set

free immediately.

The Abolitionists were radicals, and soon there was a split among them. William Lloyd Garrison, editor of the *Liberator*, led a faction demanding the breaking up of the Union.

Great people belonged to these abolition parties. Among them were Whittier, the poet (§381); Sumner, a United States senator; Phillips, a great orator; and Lucretia Mott, a Quakeress. Among congressmen were Chase and Giddings of Ohio and Slade of Vermont.



WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON

408. What the South thought about Abolitionists. The majority of slaveholders thought that the two races

could live together only as master and slave. Calhoun declared that "slavery is a good, a positive good."

Slaveholders denounced the Abolitionists for sending the Liberator and similar documents to the South. They declared that the slave would become discontented and rise and murder the whites.



BURNING ANTI-SLAVERY DOCUMENTS AT CHARLESTON

409. What the North thought. The majority in the North opposed the Abolitionists at first, and broke up their meetings. Those opposed to the Abolitionists destroyed their printing presses in Cincinnati and New York, and in Illinois murdered Elijah Lovejoy, who was defending his newspaper.

Aided by congressmen of the North, southern members passed the famous "gag" resolution. This resolution tried to shut anti-slavery petitions out of Congress. The South made a great mistake. Before this only a few petitions came into Congress, but now they came by the hundreds.

John Quincy Adams was the hero of the battle in Congress for the right of petition (\$267). He lived to see the gag resolution repealed (1844).

410. A third party. The result was an Abolition party formed in 1840 with James G. Birney as a candidate for

president. Its popular vote was seven thousand. It took a new name in 1844, the Liberty party, but held to candidate Birney and polled sixty-two thousand votes. The number opposed to slavery, however, was made much larger by the fight over the right of petition.

THE TEXAN REVOLUTION. TERRITORY ON THE PACIFIC

411. Texas wins her independence (1836). After Mexico won her independence from Spain (1821), Americans, encouraged by the Republic of Mexico, began to settle in Texas. But the Americans and Mexicans did not get on well together. They differed in race and religion. When Mexico abolished slavery the American settlers paid little attention to the law. Mexico then forbade them to settle in Texas.

The Texans rebelled and set up an independent government. Scores of brave men rushed to the aid of Texas. The Mexicans attacked and brutally murdered the few who remained at the Alamo and three hundred men at Goliad. But General Sam Houston was coming to the



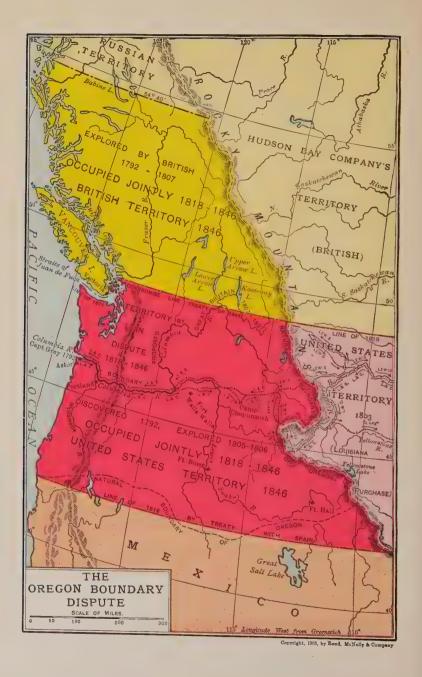
THE ALAMO, SAN ANTONIO

aid of the Texans. He defeated and captured Santa Anna at San Jacinto (1836).

of 1844. The Democrats nominated James K. Polk of Tennessee, and the Whigs,

Henry Clay of Kentucky. The Liberty party put up Birney again. Polk favored the annexation of Texas,





and Clay opposed it unless Mexico gave her consent. He did not want war with our neighbor. Whether Texas

should or should not be admitted to the Union was the great question in the campaign.

413. Texas annexed. President Jackson had been kept from annexing Texas by the danger to his party in the North if more slave territory were added. But President Tyler had favored annexation. It took place by joint resolution of Congress (1845). This was a new way of admitting a state.

414. Origin of the Oregon question. The Oregon country



extended from the southern line of Alaska, 54°40', down to 42°, and from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean. We have seen our claims to this region (§301). The Hudson's Bay Fur Company also very early claimed it for Great Britain and had driven out American trappers (§301). In 1818 the dispute over this region was settled for a time by a treaty which agreed that both nations might occupy Oregon until further notice.

Immediately after the declaration of the Monroe Doctrine (§350), Russia agreed not to extend the southern line of Alaska farther south.

415. The settlement of Oregon. About 1830 an eastern business man began to plan a chain of posts for purposes of trade in this region. The Methodists, fired by zeal, sent missionaries to the Indians of the Willamette Valley (1834). Congregationalists and Catholics followed. The Spaniards had sent missionaries into this country from California long before our Revolution.

Dr. Marcus Whitman was one of the early missionaries to Oregon. It is claimed that he became alarmed over the danger of the British seizing the country. He made a dangerous horseback ride in dead of winter to the East. He came to report on his mission work. But it is said that he went to Washington also and aroused President Tyler to the danger of permitting the British to seize the country.

416. The Oregon Trail. How settlers migrated to Oregon. The bold pioneers to the Oregon country traveled much as did those who had crossed the Alleghenies a generation before. They gathered in large numbers at Westport, now Kansas City, for the journey was long and hard. They had to cross the Rockies and great stretches of country where water was scarce.

They had great wagons drawn by teams of horses or of oxen. At night their wagons were drawn up in a big circle to keep off the Indians. They halted where grass and water were found. After supper the women and children rolled themselves in blankets and went to sleep under the stars. Some of the men stood guard over the camps while others looked out for cattle and horses. Sometimes on this journey they halted to bury one whom sickness had struck down. They left the body with only a pile of stones to mark the last resting place. At first it took twelve to sixteen weeks to reach their homes in some nook or valley of the new land.

417. What the government did. A few men, like Senator Benton (§354) of Missouri, had always stood boldly in defense of this region. He had his son-in-law,

John C. Frémont, sent to explore it. In three great expeditions Frémont wandered over the wild land of the Rocky Mountains, following the Oregon Trail to this region. Finally, after a long, bitter battle with snow and hunger, he crossed the Sierra Madre Mountains into California (1842–46).

The hardy sons of the Willamette Valley set up a local government (1843) (§373). Hundreds of settlers were coming into other places. They naturally looked to the United States government to settle the disputed boundary question.

418. How Oregon got into the campaign of 1844. The Democrats stole a march on the Whigs by their campaign cries: the "reannexation of Texas" for the South, and for the North they had two: "Fifty-four forty or fight"

and "All Oregon or none."145

It was easier to win the election than to settle the questions raised in the campaign. Mexico had said she would fight if Texas were annexed (§412). Polk, the new president (1845-49), saw that he must settle the Oregon question in a friendly way or have two wars on hand at once. The dispute with Great Britain was compromised. Both nations accepted the line of 49°. Not without cause



ZACHARY TAYLOR

were some of those pioneers angry over the result. 419. War with Mexico. Taylor's campaigns. The Mexican government had refused for a long time to settle for destroying American property. The Texans claimed



THE TEXAS BOUNDARY DISPUTE

the Rio Grande as their southern line. while the Mexicans declared it to be the Nueces. When Mexicans killed American soldiers in the disputed territory, President Polk declared that Mexico "had shed American blood on American soil." 146 Congress declared war immediately (1846).

General Taylor at once marched across the Rio Grande, and from Palo Alto to Buena Vista (1847) won a series of brilliant victories. His boys called him "Old Rough and Ready." He was a hero in the eyes of Americans

420. Scott's campaign. New Mexico and California. Polk planned a new campaign and put General Scott in command. This army smashed its way from Vera Cruz to the City of Mexico. Scott rode proudly at the head

of the American army in the land through which Cortez (§17) had journeyed more than three hundred years before. Santa Anna, president of Mexico, was compelled to make a treaty of peace (1848).

One of the longest marches ever made through an enemy's country was made by Colonel S. W. Kearney and his men. They went from Fort Leavenworth,



TERRITORY GAINED BY THE TREATY OF PEACE, 1848

Kansas, to California. They traveled the old Santa Fe trail to Santa Fe, New Mexico (§31), captured this town, and set up a new government (1846). With a part of his men Kearney made his way to California. He found California almost conquered.

American settlers in the country had already raised the standard of revolt and had set up the Bear State republic. General Frémont joined forces with them. By the aid of a small fleet the Americans had most of California under control when Kearney and his men arrived.

Mexico, for \$15,000,000, turned over to the United States California and New Mexico. Later (1853) the Gadsden Purchase was added (see map).

SHALL THE NEW TERRITORY BE SLAVE OR FREE?

421. Opposition to the war. The Wilmot Proviso. Thousands of anti-slavery people in the North opposed the war. The Whig party opposed it, but voted men and money to carry it on.

President Polk asked Congress for \$2,000,000 to make peace with Mexico. The House refused. It declared that no territory obtained by the war should ever be open to slavery. This was the Wilmot Proviso. 147 It did not pass, for the Senate was against it. But it showed how strong the anti-slavery sentiment was. After two years of quarreling over slavery Congress succeeded in passing a bill for the free territory of Oregon (1848).

422. Taylor president. The Free-Soil party (1848). Both Democrats and Whigs were afraid of the slavery question. The Democrats, whose majority lay in the South, nominated a northern man, Senator Cass, from a state containing many anti-slavery Whigs. The Whigs nominated General Taylor, a southern man, from a state containing thousands of pro-slavery voters.

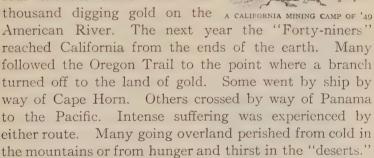
The strong anti-slavery men were disgusted. They met at Buffalo and boldly nominated Martin Van Buren (§361). They sent forth a platform against slavery in the territories. Liberty party men united with anti-slavery Democrats and Whigs in shouting for "free soil, free speech, free labor, and free men." The soldier candidate won!¹⁴⁸ Even South Carolina voted for Taylor.

423. Gold discovered in California (1848). Gold was discovered in California shortly after the territory was

ceded to the United States by Mexico. Its discovery was an accident. Some men, digging a mill-race along the American River several miles above Sacramento,

discovered yellow grains in the sand. They proved to be gold. The news went everywhere. There was great excitement. The old

slow ways of making a living were given up. Laborers working at lumbering, milling, herding, clerking, and farming rushed to the gold region. Soldiers and sailors deserted their posts. In four months there were four



424. The gold miners make California a free state. The people of California had to act quickly. There were nearly a hundred thousand of them (1849). They needed a government to keep order. They held a convention and adopted a constitution shutting out slavery. The slaveholders were astounded when President Taylor favored admitting California with her anti-slavery constitution. 149

Congress was excited over California. The South was disappointed, and threats of secession were heard.

425. Henry Clay, the peacemaker, to the rescue (1850). Henry Clay, with thousands of southerners, loved the Union first. He was an old and broken man. He had retired from the Senate, but both Whigs and Democrats in the Kentucky legislature united to send him back to his place. They hoped the nation would be thrilled once more by that voice in favor of union.

He introduced his compromise. This was soon called the "Omnibus Bill"—it contained so many measures: (1) the admission of California with her free state constitution; (2) the territories of Utah and New Mexico organized without settling the slavery question; (3) the abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia;



MILLARD FILLMORE

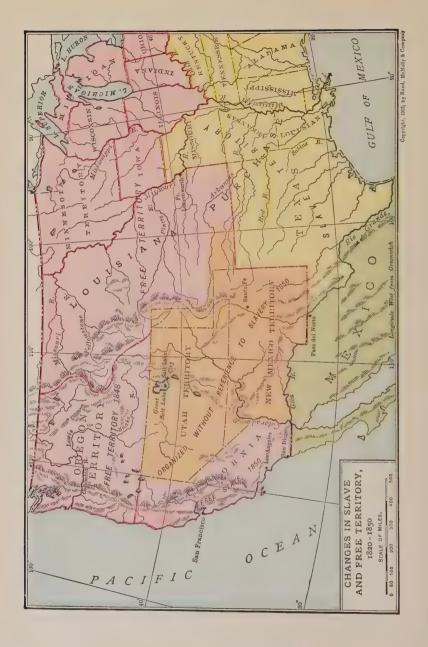
(4) a new law for the return of fugitive slaves; (5) the dispute between Texas and New Mexico over boundary lines settled by paying Texas \$10,000,000.

426. The great debate (1850). No such able orators as those who took part in the great debate had been heard before in the Senate: Clay, Webster, Calhoun, Benton, Douglas, Davis, Seward, Chase, and others.

Early in February Clay

arose to speak. There was a crowded house. People had come hundreds of miles to hear that silvery voice make a last appeal for the Union. He spoke for two





days. He seemed young again. When he closed, men rushed forward to congratulate him and fair ladies to press upon his cheek the kiss of admiration.



WEBSTER ADDRESSING THE SENATE ON THE 7TH OF MARCH

Calhoun was too ill to speak. A friend read his address. What a scene! "There he sat, motionless as a statue, with the hand of death upon him." He watched the effect of his words upon his audience. He asked: (1) an equal division of the territories; (2) a better fugitive slave law; (3) the stopping of anti-slavery agitation. He declared: "If you of the North will not do these things, let our southern states depart in peace."

Webster made his fatal "Seventh of March Speech." It was "For the Union and the Constitution." In dividing the blame between the agitators of the North and the South he seemed to consider that the North was most at fault. The anti-slavery Whigs of New England made his few remaining days bitter on account of this speech.

The new champion of slavery was found in Jefferson Davis, who was already taking the place of the dying

Calhoun.¹⁵⁰ Seward declared there was "a higher law than the Constitution," the moral law.

- 427. The results of the compromise. Congress passed the measures in the Omnibus Bill, and it seemed for a time a happy settlement of the difficulty. Renewed loyalty to the Union was encouraged by the Whigs and Democrats holding together "Union meetings." But anti-slavery men found fault with the compromise on account of the Fugitive Slave Law (Art. IV, §2, ¶3). The extreme pro-slavery men found fault with it because it did not suppress agitation among the Abolitionists.
- 428. Franklin Pierce president (1853-57). The campaign of 1852 was an overwhelming victory for the Democrats. General Scott, the Whig candidate, believed up to the last moment that he would be elected. The campaign was like a funeral procession for the Whigs. Clay



JEFFERSON DAVIS IN THE COMPROMISE DEBATES IN CONGRESS

died at its beginning and Webster at its close. The Whig party, too, was dying. Men began to speak of a

new "era of good feeling" (\$351). Pierce in his inaugural pledged himself to encourage the growing harmony.

429. "Underground Railroad." The term "Underground Railroad" named the secret routes along which fugitive slaves were helped to reach Canada. 151 Sometimes the antislavery men would enter a slave state to help negroes to run away. Everything had to be done secretly, for such acts were violations of the Fugitive Slave Law (§425). Hundreds of anti-slavery men were violating the laws of Congress to keep from violating Seward's "higher law" (§426).



FRANKLIN PIERCE

A number of northern states passed Personal Liberty laws to protect men "working on the Underground Railroad," and forbade people to aid slave hunters. These laws nullified the Fugitive Slave Law as much as South Carolina nullified the tariff (§404).

Many anti-slavery people were encouraged to seize slaves in spite of both the officers of the law and the slaveholder. 152 Men were murdered by both sides.

430. "Uncle Tom's Cabin" (1852). Harriet Beecher Stowe saw a bit of slave life in Kentucky. She painted the good and the bad sides of slavery. But she set forth the dark side much more fully. The experiences through which she put Uncle Tom were not the rule in the South, but the exception. Uncle Tom's Cabin was a powerful novel. "That book will make 2,000,000 Abolitionists," said a northern man. "All the defenders of slavery have let me alone and are after you," said Garrison (§407).

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Great West, 215-240, 271-284; Wright, American Progress.

Fiction: Lowell, Biglow Papers; Whittier, Angels of Buena Vista; Butterworth, Log School House; Carr, Illini; Monroe, Golden Days of '40; Smedes, Memorials of a Southern Planter; Hale, New England Boyhood; Larcom, New England Girlhood.

PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. Two boys sit in the Senate during the Webster-Hayne debate. Write on opposite sides for your teacher. 2. You are a member of Jackson's "kitchen" cabinet. Report what Jackson says about Calhoun and South Carolina to a member of Congress. 3. Dramatize a meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society; characters, Garrison and other leaders among the abolitionists. 4. Dramatize the "great debate" in 1850. 5. "Write up" a slave's experiences in escaping by way of the Underground Railroad. 6. Read Uncle Tom's Cabin and write about the parts that seemed unfair to the South.

CHAPTER XVII

THE POLITICAL CONFLICT

THE KANSAS STRUGGLE DRIVES THE NORTH AND SOUTH FARTHER APART

431. The career of Douglas (1813-61). Douglas, born in Vermont, lost his father when a mere boy. He was

put to learn the carpenter's trade. His family moved to New York, near Canandaigua where young Douglas entered the academy. He became the best debater in school and a general favorite. In a couple of years he left for the West and turned up in Illinois with 17 cents in his pockets. He was clerk to an auctioneer for three days, taught school, studied law, and became attorney-general of the state at twenty-one. He was a congressman at thirty, a United States senator at thirty-



STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS

four, and in 1852 at the age of thirty-nine received ninety-one votes for nomination for president. He rapidly became the idol of the northern Democrats, and was probably the greatest offhand debater America has ever produced.

432. Douglas raises a storm over Kansas (1854). Had it not been for the Kansas question, the North and the South would have lived peacefully together for many

years. Early in 1854 Douglas brought in a bill making two territories out of the region running from the Missouri River to the Rocky Mountains. In these two territories, Kansas and Nebraska, the slavery question was left in the hands of the people living there. Douglas called this "popular sovereignty," but his enemies named it "squatter sovereignty." He proposed to repeal the Missouri Compromise (§346).

Suddenly Douglas felt a storm crashing round his head. The North was furious; pulpit and press thundered their protests against this measure. The anti-slavery men said that Congress could not possibly put slavery into this territory. Public meetings everywhere in the North denounced Douglas and his bill. He was hissed from a platform in his own city of Chicago. ¹⁵³

In spite of the northern opposition, the bill was passed and signed by the president who had so lately promised not to disturb the good feeling growing out of the Compromise of 1850.

433. The struggle for Kansas begins. Both sides were ready for the struggle for Kansas. The pro-slavery men from Missouri reached Kansas first because they were nearest. But Eli Thayer had already organized in New England the "Emigrant Aid Society" to send northern men there.

In the summer of 1854 the first company started on its long journey to the disputed territory. It was a strange company on a strange errand! People gathered to cheer it on its way, and a few joined it. This company located at Lawrence.

The South was not to be outdone, and bands of settlers from that section entered to make Kansas a slave territory. But the North had more men to send.

434. The rivals face to face (1855). The proslavery men won the first election because in the beginning



EMIGRANTS ON THEIR WAY TO KANSAS

of the struggle they had more voters in the territory. They elected a delegate to Congress, set up a state government, drew up the Lecompton constitution, and passed laws favoring slavery. The antislavery men immediately raised the cry of fraud. They claimed the election was unfair and refused to accept the Lecompton constitution.

They did not stop with this, but went to work as California had done (§424), to make a free state constitution. Having done this, they applied for admission to the Union as a free state.

There were rival governments in the territory now, a slave state and a free state one. Soon the wilder element in both factions began burning and murdering. There was civil war in Kansas—"'bleeding Kansas'' as the territory was called. The attention of the whole country was fixed on the struggle for Kansas.

435. The effect upon the country. Nobody was more surprised at this upheaval than Douglas. But he met the ablest antislavery men in debate in the Senate. Some members of Congress were now carrying arms. Most unfortunately good men, North and South, were growing suspicious of each other. The North felt that the South was determined to put slavery in the territories and even in the free states. The South believed that the North was determined to stamp out slavery, not only in the territories, but in the states where it had long existed.

436. The Republican party (1854-56). The passing of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill and the deeds done in Kansas had stirred the nation. The Whig party was dead. The southern wing joined the Democrats. The northern



JAMES BUCHANAN

Whigs united with thousands of antislavery Democrats and Free-Soilers to form the new Republican party. Seward was the leader of the Whig side of the new party, Chase of the Democrats and Free-Soilers.

Republicans were accused of being a "sectional party" and "Black Republicans." On a platform demanding that all territory should be free, the party nominated John C. Frémont, the "Pathfinder" (§417). The Democrats put Douglas aside and named an

old bachelor, James Buchanan of Pennsylvania. He had been out of the country during the Kansas struggle.



THE BOY LINCOLN



A third or "American" party—the "Know-Nothing," as it was nicknamed—arose to keep foreigners out of office.

Many Whigs and Democrats, both North and South, voted for "Know-Nothing" men.

The Republicans had the enthusiasm, but the Democrats had the votes. All the northern states but four



THE LOG CABIN BIRTHPLACE OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

were carried by the Republicans. Their popular vote was 1,300,000. Buchanan won. All the slave states but one voted for him. Something had to be done. The country was rapidly breaking into a North and a South.

437. The Dred Scott Decision. The Supreme Court tried its hand, but it only widened the deepening chasm. Dred Scott, a negro slave, had sued for his freedom because he had been taken into free territory. Chief Justice Taney declared: (1) that slaves were not citizens; (2) that they might be taken to any territory like other property; (3) that neither territorial legislatures nor Congress could put them out. Hence the Missouri Compromise was against the Constitution (§346).

This decision by the court was a blow at the newly formed Republican party and also at Douglas' doctrine of "popular sovereignty." The North felt outraged. The South was happy over the decision. One more blow was needed to split the Democratic party. We must stop here to look at the man in the Republican party who was to deliver that blow.

438. Abraham Lincoln (1809-65). Abraham Lincoln was born among the Kentucky hills. When he was seven years old his parents moved to southern Indiana. There



he lived until he was twentyone. His father built a threesided shack for a home. This gave place the next year to a log cabin with only the earth for a floor. Before she died his mother had taught young Lincoln to read.

His father married again, but his stepmother was kind to him and saw that he had a chance to go to school. He was the best speller in his neighborhood. Big for his age, he could outdo the others

in games of strength, and he kept peace among the boys. He liked mental work better than hand work. He read when he could and figured on the wooden shovel by the light of the fire. He walked miles to borrow a book or to read a newspaper.

At seventeen he was a man in size and strength, and he was a favorite at log-rollings, or wherever strength was demanded. Once when he lived in Indiana and again while he was in Illinois, he went to New Orleans as a "hand" on a flatboat. When he was twenty-one, his parents moved to Illinois. Lincoln was in turn clerk in a store, surveyor, postmaster, and captain in the Black Hawk War. He studied law in his spare moments, was elected to the state legislature, and it was at the capital that he saw Douglas for the first time.

He was elected four times to the legislature and once to Congress. He had frequent stirring debates with Douglas, and after 1854 these were held oftener and grew more serious. Lincoln clearly saw the approaching political storm.

439. A house divided against itself (1858). Douglas came up for reëlection to the United States Senate. The Republicans, meeting in state convention at Springfield, declared, "Abraham Lincoln is our first and only choice" for that position

Lincoln made a famous speech¹⁵⁴ before the convention that same night, saying: "A house divided against itself cannot stand. This government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. It will become all one thing or all the other."

Douglas, before a great audience in Chicago, denounced Lincoln for trying to cause war between the sections. Lincoln replied the following night. He denied Douglas' charges and pointed out the weak spots in the doctrine of "popular sovereignty." Other political duels followed, and Lincoln challenged Douglas to debate the question before the people of Illinois.

440. The great debates. The debates attracted widespread attention. People gathered from far and near to hear them. Many came the day before the debate was to be held, afoot, on horseback, and in wagons. Some of these wagons carried whole families; some were decorated with flags and banners, and loaded with young women. On the great day the town was alive with a vast, jostling, noisy, good-natured crowd of country, village, and city folk.

The presence of reporters from distant cities showed how the whole country viewed the coming battle.

What a difference in the two men! Douglas was good-looking but short and thick. He spoke rapidly and

powerfully. He carried his hearers with him by storm. He loved a hand-to-hand fight, and when his arguments were weak, he "threw dust in the eyes of his audience" and made "the worse appear the better reason."

Lincoln was tall, slender, awkward, and homely. He spoke slowly and calmly. His language was plain, sometimes quaint and humorous. He was a great story-teller. But his mind was sure, if slow. He always debated to find the truth and to set it forth. He was the one man Douglas feared in a political battle.

In debate Lincoln compelled Douglas to admit that a territory could get rid of slavery by unfriendly laws. Douglas was thus true to his doctrine of "popular sovereignty," but this admission was against the Dred Scott decision (§437) and it made the South angry. On the other hand by this stand he held the people of Illinois.



LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATE AT FREEPORT

441. The result. Throughout seven joint debates they discussed slavery in some form or other, but they always

came back to the question of whether or not the legislature of a territory could prohibit slavery. Douglas won

and was elected senator, but lost the support of the South for the presidency (\$431).

Lincoln began as an Illinois leader. He ended with a national reputation. His success



JOHN BROWN'S FORT

made him later a popular candidate for the presidency.

- 442. John Brown's raid (1859). In the fall of 1859 the country was alarmed by the news that John Brown with a few companions had captured Harper's Ferry. Brown planned to set the slaves free. Only a few joined him. He was arrested, and after a fair trial was hanged. The South was startled at the thought of what might have been. A few people at the North regarded Brown as a martyr. The strain between the North and the South had now reached the breaking point.
- 443. The Democratic party splits (1860). Men looked forward with anxiety to the Democratic convention which was to meet at Charleston. Lincoln by his master strokes had widened the chasm between the northern and southern Democrats. Northern Democrats stood faithfully by Douglas. The southern men left the convention and nominated John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky. Later, at Baltimore Douglas was named.
- 444. Lincoln, the winner. The Republicans, tull of enthusiasm, met at Chicago. Seward had been a trusted leader, but many remembered his "higher law" doctrine

and his "irrepressible conflict" speech. 155 They thought Lincoln a safer man. The border states of the North were all for him and he was nominated. Bell of Tennessee was put up by a convention of Union men. They declared that the way to settle the slavery question was to cease talking about it and to stand by the "Constitution, the Union, and the enforcement of the laws."

Lincoln won with a people's vote of over 1,800,000 and with 180 of the electoral vote. Douglas came next with over 1,375,000 votes, but with only 12 electoral votes. Breckinridge, who got over 100,000 votes in the North, in all had only a few more than 800,000 votes, with 72



THE NOMINATION OF LINCOLN AT CHICAGO

electoral votes. Bell received less support from the people, only 640,000 votes, but won 39 electoral votes.

What will the South do now? Southern leaders had said Lincoln's election would be a cause for secession. But the North thought this talk mere bluster. As the

campaign showed Lincoln's election to be certain, the grumbling and threats grew greater. Douglas made a journey to the South to appeal to southerners not to leave the Union, but his trip was in vain.

THE SOUTH SECEDES. CONCILIATION FAILS

445. South Carolina leads in secession; other states follow. South Carolina acted first. A convention was quickly called and an "Ordinance of secession" introduced. It was short, but men listened intently while it was read. This ordinance simply repealed the act by which South Carolina had ratified the Constitution (§256). It was passed without one opposing vote. The people of Charleston were beside themselves with joy at being free from the Union. They did not yet know the full meaning of this act or dream of what was to follow.

Six other states followed South Carolina's lead: Florida, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas. In some of these states many Union men made powerful speeches pointing out what the South had gained from a union which it had controlled. But in the end they went with their states. The able and upright Alexander H. Stephens was such a man.

446. The right to secede. When the Constitution was first made, only a few men denied the right of a state to leave the Union. Threats of secession had been made at various times in both the North and the South. But gradually the North came to be devoted to the nation and to deny the right of a state to secede. At the same time the South gradually came to be the champion of this right. Hence the southern people denied that they were "rebels," and declared that they were engaging in a movement which the Constitution did not forbid.

The South declared that secession was the only way left to protect its rights. It charged that Lincoln had been elected because he opposed slavery. The Abolitionists, they said, favored abolishing slavery everywhere; it was only a question of time until the whole North, with its vast crowds of foreigners, would come to this point of view. Hence, for the South secession was a necessity.

The North could point to its Free-Soil and Republican platforms expressly denying the right to touch slavery in the states where it already existed. Lincoln wrote to Alexander H. Stephens pointing out this fact. The North also held with Jackson and Webster that this Union was a government of the people and could be destroyed only by a successful rebellion.

447. The southern Confederacy formed (1861). Delegates from the seceded states met at once and formed a



JEFFERSON DAVIS

government at Montgomery, Alabama. Jefferson Davis (§426) was elected president and Alexander H. Stephens vice-president. They changed the old Constitution in several important points. (I) The term of the president was made six years without reëlection.

(2) Cabinet members were allowed to address Congress and to debate bills. (3) The states were made sovereign.

(4) Slavery was protected in the territories and the states.

448. Buchanan uncertain. The rush of events in the South carried men off their feet. Buchanan was in a hard



position. His Cabinet was made up partly of southern men. His message did not help the North: states had

no right to secede, but no power was given the president to prevent them doing so. Northern men thought of what Jackson had done (§404).

When the southern members left the Cabinet to join their states, northerners were put in their places. Buchanan seemed to take courage. He sent a shipload of supplies to Fort Sumter. Guns in Charleston harbor fired on the ship and she returned without reaching the fort.



ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS

449. Can war be prevented?

Neither side wanted war. Good men on both sides tried to prevent it. The North tried to get the southern states back into the Union. How could this be done? Men thought at once of the old plan of compromise.

Crittenden of Kentucky, who had taken Clay's place, offered a plan of compromise: (1) All territory north of 36° 30′ was to be free, and all south slave. (2) When new states came into the Union, they might decide to be free or slave. (3) Congress was denied all power over slavery in the states where it already existed.

This plan touched the heart of the Republican platform, and Republican leaders would not accept it. Many people in both sections were sorely disappointed over the failure.

Virginia sent forth a call for a convention of states. No seceded state responded, but other slave states sent delegates. The twenty states represented at the convention suggested a plan somewhat like the Crittenden Compromise. Congress refused to pass it also. War seemed sure to come. Men said they would wait and see.

450. Will Lincoln be inaugurated (1861)? Lincoln spoke encouraging words to his home people as he left for Washington. He had kept his eye on the movement of things. All along the way he was cheered by the hearty greetings of the people. The great West spoke to them again, especially at Independence Hall, ¹⁵⁶ Philadelphia, where Lincoln raised a flag. Rumors of a plot led him, against his will, to go secretly the rest of the way.

In the meantime the country was full of excitement. The Confederacy was getting ready for war—preparing soldiers and raising money. Washington City was full of people who wanted the Confederacy to succeed. All sorts of disturbing rumors spread around. General Scott took command of the Union forces and was ready for the worst.

451. The inaugural address. In his inaugural address Lincoln let it be known just where he stood. (1) His great aim was to preserve the Union. (2) No state could secede. (3) The laws would be enforced in all states. (4) Forts in all states would be occupied and held by the government. (5) He closed with these words: "In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail you. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. We are not enemies, but friends. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battle field and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union when again touched, as they surely will be, by the better angels of our nature."

Douglas and his friends, standing around Lincoln, let it be known that the address pleased them. But the South saw no word of compromise in this speech.

452. Both presidents wait. Up to March 4 the Union may be said to have had the advantage from not being the aggressor. The Confederacy had seceded and had seized forts, arsenals, and ports which in the eyes of the North belonged to the Union. The South, too, had fired on the ship loaded with provisions for Fort Sumter. Neither side wanted to arouse public feeling by beginning the war. Hence they waited and watched for several weeks.

SUGGESTED READINGS

References for teachers: Wilson, Division and Reunion, 185-212; Morse, Lincoln, I, 166-228; Elson, Side Lights on American History, I, 204-336; II, 1-24, 40-46; Bassett, Short History, chap. xxiii, 497-504; Dodd, Expansion and Conflict, II, 251-359, 384-416, 440-502; III, chap. xiii; McMaster, History of the American People, VIII, chap. xcvi; Hart, Contemporaries, III, chaps. viii-ix; IV, 104-118, 155-159, 180-186; Hart, Patriots and Statesmen, V, 130-305; Johnson, Stephen A. Douglas, chap. xviii; Julian, Personal Recollections, 134-150.

References for pupils: Mabie, Heroes Every Child Should Know, 309-319; Baldwin, Four Great Americans, 186-246; Williams, Successful Americans; Barstow, A New Nation, 166-180, 186-209; Hart, Source Book, 284-296; Hart, Source Reader, II, 1-74, 177-196; Mace, Abraham Lincoln, 101-148; Champlin, Young Folks' History of War for the Union, 24-49; Eggleston, Household History, 103-310.

Fiction: Eggleston, Two Gentlemen of Virginia; Trowbridge, Neighbor Jackwood; Civil War Stories Retold from St. Nicholas.

PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. You are an antislavery senator. Write to the New York Tribune the story of the northern attack on Douglas in the Senate and in the nation as the Kansas-Nebraska Bill passes. 2. You are a member of the Emigrant Aid Society. Write a story back home telling how you got to Kansas and what you found. 3. The entire class attends the Freeport debate and writes its impressions of the crowd, of the speakers, and of the arguments. 4. Attend the Democratic Convention in 1860 and report for a northern paper. 5. Go with Douglas to the South. Tell what he says to southerners and what they say to him.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE WAR BETWEEN THE UNION AND THE CONFEDERACY

THE WAR BEGINS

453. Fort Sumter falls (April 14). Waiting time was now over. Lincoln ordered supplies to be sent to Major Anderson in Fort Sumter. Davis ordered the guns in Charleston to fire on the fort. Great crowds gathered to witness the opening event of the war. All day the little band in the fort bravely defended the flag. By afternoon the fort was on fire, and the walls were broken in many places. Smoke and flying cinders almost choked the men. Some lay upon the ground and covered their faces with wet cloths. Others crept to the portholes for a breath of fresh air. Explosion followed explosion, but



THE INTERIOR OF FORT SUMTER AFTER THE BOMBARDMENT

the men would not surrender. Now and then they fired a gun to show that they were "holding the fort." On Sunday afternoon Major Anderson, without the loss of a single man of the 128, with torn flag flying and



with drums beating, surrendered. Charleston and the Confederacy went wild with excitement over the victory.

454. Lincoln's call. That Sunday afternoon Douglas (§431), the political rival of Lincoln, called at the White House. On Monday morning two telegrams sped on the wings of lightning to the nation: one from Lincoln calling for 75,000 men; another from Douglas telling his fellow Democrats that he stood by the President.¹⁵⁷

On every farm, in every town and city in the North was heard the answer to the call. In the pulpit and press as well as on the platform went up the cry: "The Union forever!" Flags, fife, and drum helped kindle the flame of war. From every walk in life poured forth volunteers. The foreigner and the native-born answered by offering their lives. A mighty wave of patriotic feeling was sweeping the North. Now there were no Democrats, no Republicans, only Union men.

455. Other states secede when war comes. The same feeling, the same devotion, the same wild cry for the

defense of their homes, was heard in the South. Men were quickly formed in companies, drilled and armed



for the conflict. Here, too, the fife and drum aroused enthusiasm for the Confederacy.

Four states—Virginia, Tennessee, North Carolina, and Arkansas joined the Confederacy. The border slave states must now choose between the Union and the Confederacy. It

was not easy to do this, for the people of these states were divided. Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri—were faithful to the Union.

The mountainous parts of North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia contained thousands of Union men. The people of West Virginia, as it is now called, formed a separate state which was admitted to the Union (1863).

The danger of this new secession was seen in the fact that Virginia lies across the Potomac from Washington, and that General Lee, 138 a native Virginian, threw in his lot with the Confederacy. The Confederate capital was removed from Montgomery to Richmond.

456. Strength of the two sections (1861). The North had a population of 22,000,000; the South but 9,000,000, and 3,500,000 of these were negroes. In the North there were over 5,000,000 men able to bear arms, while in the Confederate states there were hardly more than 1,500,000.

In a long, hard war wealth counts. The North had hundreds of mills and factories, while the Confederacy had but few. Iron works, shipyards, and hundreds of banks with plenty of money, were found in the North. The Confederacy could boast of but one iron mill, at Richmond, although she soon set up another at Atlanta. Her clothing factories were few. There was but one great city in the Confederacy, New Orleans, and the Union forces captured that in the second year of the war. The North had two and one-half times as many miles of railroads. More important still, the North had the iron mills and the shops to repair the railroads when there was need. The South had none.

Is it any wonder that the people in the North thought the war would soon be over?

But it was not so one-sided as it seemed. The Confederates were fighting at home for their own firesides. They knew the ground better than the North. They had the help and sympathy of their own people. Even the negro slaves did not rise and murder their masters, but served them in the army or, most important of all, they remained on the plantations and raised food for the Confederate armies.

The Confederacy had high hopes of sending cotton abroad to pay for guns and ships and to get gold. But the blockade stopped that, and made other imported things scarce.

457. The first military objects of the war. Since Richmond had been made the capital of the Confederacy, the Union armies had two important objects in the war: to defeat Lee's army and take Richmond, and to open the Mississippi to its mouth. The navy had for its purpose the shutting of the ports of the South so tight that no ships could pass out or in. The political object of the war was the preservation of the Union.

458. The Battle of Bull Run. What it taught. Both sections gathered troops near Manassas Junction, about



PIERRE G. T. BEAUREGARI

thirty miles from Washington. The Union army was under McDowell and the Confederates were under Beauregard. Without McDowell's knowing it, Joseph E. Johnston was bringing reënforcements for the Confederates. The attack was made July 21. At first the advantage was with the Union or Federal troops. 159 But Johnston's men turned the battle into an awful Union rout. Frightened soldiers, con-

gressmen, and citizens rushed madly back on Washington.

The South was elated over the victory. They declared it proved the superior fighting qualities of their boys, At any rate it opened the eyes of the North. Congress at once proceeded to raise 500,000 men and \$500,000,000 to carry on the conflict.

George B. McClellan, who had been successful in western Virginia, was called to head the Army of the Potomac. For months he drilled the army until he made it a "fine working machine."

THE BLOCKADE OF CONFEDERATE PORTS

459. What will England and France do? The South was a tobacco and cotton raising country (§401). With cotton it had to buy many things abroad. Therefore Lincoln struck a mighty blow at the Confederacy when he ordered her ports closed from Virginia to Texas.

But France and England were interested. Their factories would have to close, their laborers starve, and their merchants lose thousands upon thousands of dollars. Would England and France bear this loss in silence? It was hardly to be expected.

The South hoped these nations would break the blockade. This would mean war with the North. The North knew that England had long ago abolished slavery, and therefore expected her sympathy. Both Great Britain and France agreed to remain neutral, but to recognize the "war rights" of the Confederates.

460. The hard lot of a neutral. We know the lot of a neutral is a hard one (§289). The Confederacy sent Slidell to France and Mason to England to ask that the independence of the South be recognized. At Havana they took passage on an English ship, the "Trent." The next day a United States warship commanded by Captain Wilkes stopped the "Trent" and seized the Confederates.

To the people of the North, Wilkes was a hero. But the people of England were angry at this "attack" on their flag. Both had forgotten their own history (§289).

But Lincoln had not forgotten and surrendered the prisoners. Queen Victoria saw the danger of war in her government's letter to the United States, and so changed it that it did not stir angry feelings in this country.

461. Battle between the "Monitor" and "Merrimac" (1862). The Confederates had one hope of breaking the blockade, the "Merrimac." She was in the Norfolk navy yard. They had covered her with railroad iron. She steamed into Hampton Roads and plunged her great ram into the wooden ship "Cumberland" and chased the "Congress" and burned her. One great day's work for the Confederacy! All Washington was frightened.

That night a queer-looking craft slipped into Hampton Roads, the "Monitor" built by Ericsson. She was an "ironclad." Her deck was just above the water. On this was a revolving turret or iron cylinder containing two big guns. The next day the battle began and continued for two hours. An officer on the "Merrimac" asked a gunner why he had ceased firing. "I can do her as much damage by snapping my thumb at her every two minutes and a half," was his answer. The "Merrimac" steamed back to Norfolk.

Neither side won. But the advantage was with the Union, for the blockade went on, and the government at Washington built many ironclads while the Confederacy could put out only a few. This marked the beginning of warships of iron and steel.

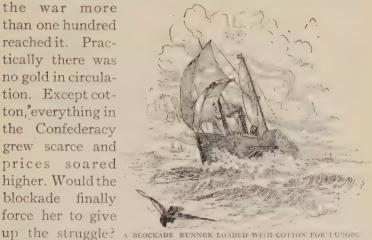
462. Blockade runners and privateers. Europe sent small, swift ships to slip into southern ports on dark and stormy nights. Some of these got away with cotton for the European trade. Some carried it to the West Indies, where different nations bought it at a very high price.



So high was the price that it paid the blockade runners even if once in a while one got caught.

But the quantity smuggled through was small. For only about one bale of cotton now reached Europe where before

the war more than one hundred reached it. Practically there was no gold in circulation. Except cotton, everything in the Confederacy grew scarce and prices soared higher. Would the blockade finally force her to give



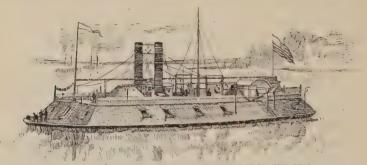
CAMPAIGN FOR THE OPENING OF THE MISSISSIPPI

463. Beginnings of the great campaign (1862). Douglas had said that if the Confederates held the Mississippi "grass would grow in the streets of western cities." Both sides tried to get hold of Missouri and Kentucky. While the governments of both states had sympathized with the Confederacy, the people were largely for the Union.

In Missouri, Francis P. Blair and General Lyon were too quick for the Confederates. Lyon was killed at Wilson Creek, but the Confederates, by the aid of Grant's victories, were driven into Arkansas.

In Kentucky, General Grant, with the aid of a fleet of gunboats, had captured Forts Henry and Donelson (February, 1862), only a few miles apart on the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers. Fifteen thousand Confederates were captured at Donelson. It was the first big battle of the Civil War and brought Grant great praise.

But he lost his hard-earned honors by allowing himself to be beaten back in the two days' battle of Shiloh, or



ONE OF FOOTE'S GUNBOATS USED IN THE BATTLES ON THE OHIO

Pittsburg Landing (April 6, 7). The Confederates lost gallant General Albert Sidney Johnston 160 and were forced to retreat to Corinth.

A union of Federal armies brought a hundred thousand men into the field. Corinth fell without a blow, and Commodore Foote forced Memphis to surrender. The Mississippi was now open down to Vicksburg.

464. The capture of New Orleans (April 25). The Confederate forts along the Atlantic were already falling. To Captain Farragut was given the duty of capturing New Orleans. The Confederates had fortified it well.

The fleet cut the cables across the harbor, bombarded the forts for five days, passed them, and destroyed the gunboats. Hundreds fled the doomed city, and thousands of bales of cotton were burned. The fall of New Orleans was a hard blow. It was a great cotton city, and its loss discouraged Confederate friends in England.

465. The Confederate counterstroke (1862). To offset these victories, General Bragg, now commanding the Confederates in the West, slipped by General Buell and

rushed across Tennessee and Kentucky, going straight for Louisville on the Ohio. Buell outraced him, reaching Louisville first. After the battle of Perryville, Bragg retreated to Murfreesboro.

General Rosecrans took Buell's place. The close of the old and the opening of the new year at Murfreesboro marked one of the hardest battles of the war. General Thomas held the Union center in spite of all attacks. The Confederates claimed the victory. In the meantime, Grant defeated but failed to capture Price at Iuka.

THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE TWO CAPITALS

466. The Peninsular Campaign (1862). The two capitals could be attacked directly across the country, by the Shenandoah, and by way of Chesapeake Bay. No matter which way was chosen, the others had to be watched.



CAMPAIGNS FOR THE WESTERN STATES

The North grew tired of waiting for McClellan to attack Richmond. But he finally went down Chesapeake Bay,

started up the peninsula, lying between the York and James rivers, and fought his way to White House Landing,



GEORGE BRINTON MCCLELLAN

within sight of the spires of Richmond. Joseph E. Johnston (§458) attacked his army with great fury. The progress of the Confederates was checked. General Johnston was wounded and Lee took his place (§457)

Stonewall Jackson and his "foot cavalry" dashed through the Shenandoah, defeated

the Union armies protecting that route, and were soon back with Lee's army. McDowell, protecting the direct route, was expecting Jackson to attack Washington and withdrew to defend the Union capital.

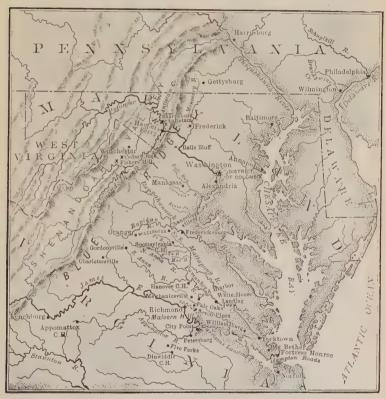
General Stuart's Confederate cavalry added to the excitement and alarm in Washington. It circled McClellan's army, tore up railroads, and burned supplies.

467. The "Seven Days" battle. The second battle of Bull Run. Lee now attacked with great fury and forced McClellan to retreat (July). The Army of the Potomac went back to Washington.

Lee struck a terrific blow at Pope's forces, a new army just made up, and defeated them on the ill-fated field of Bull Run (August).

468. Lee's first invasion (September). Flushed with victory, Lee crossed the Potomac and was on Maryland soil.

In the battle of Antietam, one of the greatest battles of the war, McClellan attacked Lee. Victory was claimed by both sides. Lee retired to Virginia, but McClellan failed to attack him as he recrossed the Potomac. For this disastrous failure McClellan was removed, and General Burnside was given command of the Army of the Potomac.



THE EASTERN CAMPAIGNS

Just as soon as the Union army had rested, Burnside led it across the Rappahannock River and struck Lee's army on the Heights of Fredericksburg. Lee defeated

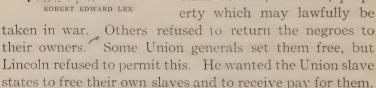
him with greater loss to the Union army than in any previous battle. "Fighting Joe" Hooker was given command,

and the Union army rested and was reënforced.



469. Slavery in the war. Lincoln had always been against slavery. He did not hate the slaveholder, but he did hate the rule of one man over another.

When slaves escaped within the Federal lines, General Butler called them "contraband of war," that is, property which may lawfully be



470. Congress runs ahead of the President on slavery. Early in the war Congress freed the slaves in the District of Columbia and in the territories. Congress paid the slaveholders in the District but not in the territories.

471. The Emancipation Proclamation (1862). Lincoln had repeatedly denied his right to interfere with slavery in the states where it existed. Hence he early tried to get the border slave states in the Union to abolish slavery. He promised to pay owners for their slaves. He was sure this would be a blow from which the Confederates could not recover. The border states did not agree with him, and he had to face emancipation by his own hand.



THE FIRST READING OF THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION

He was forced to act. The North was making little headway against the Confederacy. The cost of lives was running into thousands, and the debt into millions. There was bitter suffering in England for want of cotton. Factories were closed and the government might recognize the Confederacy as an independent nation.

But did Lincoln have the right to free the slaves in the Confederate states? As commander-in-chief of the army and navy (Art. II, $\S 2$, $\P 1$), he believed he could do anything in reason to weaken the Confederate cause. Emancipation, therefore, was a war act, and an act that could not have been carried out in time of peace.

- 472. Reads Proclamation to Cabinet. In July, before his assembled Cabinet, Lincoln read the Proclamation of Emancipation. He told them his mind was made up. He finally put the Proclamation aside to await a Union victory. The battle of Antietam came (September 17), and Lincoln sent forth a warning proclamation that if the Confederate armies had not laid down their arms by January 1, 1863, he would declare their slaves free. This was regarded in the South as an empty threat, but he issued the Proclamation on the day named (January 1, 1863).
- 473. Not all slaves set free by the Proclamation. The Proclamation did not touch a single slave in the Union slave states nor in those states or parts of states recaptured by the Federal armies. Lincoln had not the power to go farther. Certain of these states Maryland, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri did finally take steps to abolish slavery. Only by amendment to the Constitution could Congress and the people abolish it by national action. To settle the question forever, the Thirteenth Amendment was added to the Constitution (1865).

474. Effect of emancipation. The Confederacy rather made sport of the Proclamation, but Davis denounced it. Southern sympathizers in the North used strong language in attacking it. They declared that it was proof positive that the purpose of the war was to free the slaves and not to save the Union. The Proclamation was hailed with delight by friends of the North in England.

475. The negro soldier. Shall the negro be used as a soldier? The North said "Yes," but the South said "No." There were thousands of northern people, also, who were opposed to the negro's carrying a gun. They argued, as did southerners, that it was wrong for him to shoot down a white man. Over 180,000 negroes wore the Union uniform. As a rule they were put to work that required no fighting. Slaves, employed in fields and camp, had all along helped the Confederate cause, and just before the war closed the South was getting ready to use negroes as soldiers.

DECISIVE BATTLES OF THE WAR

476. Chancellorsville and the death of Jackson. Hooker crossed the Rappahannock and struck Lee's army at Chancellorsville (May 1-4, 1863). His army outnumbered the Confederates almost two to one, but he permitted Jackson to make one of his lightning-like marches and rout his right wing. This was a terrific battle—in all there



were over thirty thousand men lost. The loss of Stonewall Jackson, no doubt accidentally shot by some one on his own side, could not be made good by the Confederacy. 162

477. The Gettysburg campaign (1863). Stirred by Lee's victories, the South called upon him to carry the war to the North. He gathered the best army that ever marched under the "Stars and Bars," over seventy thousand strong, and headed for Gettysburg. The North was in terror. Lincoln called for a hundred thousand men.

As the Army of the Potomac, ninety thousand strong,



was hastening to head off Lee. Hooker was removed, and Meade given command. The armies met at Gettysburg, the Confederates on Seminary Ridge, and the Federals on Cemetery Ridge. For two days they fought without a gain on either side. But everybody expected the third day to end the battle.

478. Pickett's charge. Hidden from view by the forest on the slopes of Seminary

Ridge, General Lee on July 3 massed the flower of his army. He was to make a last desperate assault upon the Union center. At midday Lee tried for two hours to silence Meade's guns by artillery fire. As the clouds of smoke rolled away, fifteen thousand Confederates, formed like a great wedge and led by General Pickett, moved across the valley.

Nearly a mile away General Hancock's men lay watching the onrushing lines of gray. Half the distance was passed when the Union artillery blazed forth. Great holes were torn in the Confederate ranks. But never faltering, they closed up and kept right on. The long line of Union rifles now sent forth their rain of death. The ranks of the Confederates grew thin. But on they came. General Armistead broke through Hancock's line and fell, waving his hat on the point of his sword. There was a fierce hand-to-hand struggle. The Union troops dashed forward, and Pickett sounded "retreat." High tide at Gettysburg 163 had been reached.

479. The results. Lee's invasion had failed. Nearly forty thousand dead or wounded lay upon the field. The Union army was so crippled that it did not attack as Lee crossed the Potomac. The awful losses suffered by Lee's army were hard to make up. Lincoln was sorely disappointed that Meade did not attack before Lee crossed the river and end the war in a crushing victory. We must now turn to the campaign for the Mississippi.



480. The campaign for Vicksburg (1863). General Grant late in 1862 prepared to capture Vicksburg. This

city had been well fortified to protect the streams of food that crossed the Mississippi for the Confederate armies.



THE CAMPAIGN AROUND VICKSBURG

Grant drove General Pemberton into Vicksburg by a series of brilliant dashes. General Sheridan was Grant's right-hand man in this decisive siege, which was pressed with great vigor.

Day and night the two armies bombarded each other. Sharpshooters picked off the unlucky man who showed his head above the breastworks. While resting from fight-

ing, sometimes Federals and Confederates joked each other and traded things dear to the heart of a soldier.

The houses of the city were torn with shot and shell until people had to dig caves to hide in. Food began to fail, and mule meat became a luxury. Both day and night the people were kept in terror by the noise of cannon, the bursting of shells, and the explosion of mines. The citizens of Vicksburg as well as the soldiers were desperate. They sent up a white flag on July 4. The surrender took place one day after the Union victory at Gettysburg. How the North rejoiced! These two victories produced a great effect on public sentiment throughout Europe.

A few days afterward (July 9) Port Hudson surrendered to General Banks, and as the great President remarked: "The Father of Waters again goes unvexed to the sea."

481. The battles around Chattanooga (1863). The Confederates under Bragg had been driven out of Chattanooga by Rosecrans. Bragg (§465), reënforced by Longstreet, struck the Union army at Chickamauga and sent it reeling into Chattanooga. But General Thomas held the Union left wing and saved the army from greater defeat (§465). The soldiers ever after called Thomas the "Rock of Chickamauga."

Bragg occupied the heights of Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge. Rosecrans was besieged. The North was alarmed. Lincoln ordered Grant, Sherman, and Hooker to relieve Rosecrans. Grant established a new "cracker" line for supplies. The Union forces stormed Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge and drove the Confederates into Georgia. Bragg turned over his command to General Joseph E. Johnston (§466). Grant had won another campaign for the Union.

THE WAR AND POLITICS

482. The change in public opinion. With the first cry of war both North and South seemed to be as one man for the Union or for secession. The war was fought on southern soil. This compelled men of the South to unite. Public opinion would not permit southern opposition to the war except in the mountains (§455).

Some faultfinding arose because Davis took too much power into his hands. Neither his Cabinet nor his Congress was made up of great men. The ablest men of the South were her military leaders. When the Confederacy began to fail, the blame fell almost entirely upon Davis.

After the death of Douglas, when it had become clearer that the war would be long and hard, people in the North began to take sides on different questions. The result was a Union party and a Peace party. The Republicans and the "War Democrats" were for the Union. The persons who wanted peace at any price tried to hold on to the name of Democrats. They often opposed measures for carrying on the war.

After emancipation, Lincoln's enemies grew in number. Elections in the fall showed that the Democrats came near having a majority in the state governments and in Congress.

483. Vigorous opposition to the war. The draft riots. Many people who were born in the South lived in the North. It was natural for many of them to oppose the war. But others disapproved the "high-handed" means taken by Lincoln to suppress southern resistance. On the "stump," in the newspapers, and in Congress itself, the opponents of Lincoln were loud in faultfinding. They



formed secret organizations in the northern border states to free the Confederate prisoners and to compel the government to make peace with the Confederacy. The government arrested the ringleaders and threw them into prison.¹⁶⁴

All over the North there was opposition to the draft. It was very pronounced in New York City. The mob there stopped the draft, burned houses, and killed many persons. Its anger seemed aimed at the negroes. The riot was the more dangerous since it took place when Meade and Lee were in their death-grapple at Gettysburg. The United States troops had to be called in. The riot was suppressed, and the draft went on.

484. Lincoln, the president (1864). Lincoln was the most beloved president we ever had. The men who hated him did not know him. No president ever wrote so tenderly to people in distress, or sent messages to Congress breathing such pure and hopeful patriotism. All people who came to talk to him, whether high or low, rich or poor, happy or distressed, saw him. No one ever turned a more sympathetic ear to the soldier in distress, or to the broken-hearted mother appealing for the pardon of her son sentenced to be shot. He set aside a part of his time to visit the wounded Federal and Confederate soldiers in Washington hospitals. 165

He was misunderstood because he was not severe in his dealings with men at such a time as this, and because no matter how solemn the occasion, he always had a funny story to relieve the strain. He gave Horace Greeley, editor of the New York Tribune, an important mission when Greeley was heaping blame upon him. When one of his Cabinet was trying to defeat him for nomination for the presidency, he appointed him chief justice. He bore patiently the insults of another member because he was a tireless worker for the Union. Lincoln was a good man.

485. Reelected president (1864). Dissatisfied Republicans opposed to Lincoln could not agree on a man for president. The Peace Democrats nominated McClellan (\$458), but he rejected their platform, for it declared the war a failure. At first the campaign seemed to be going against Lincoln. How could the Union be saved if he were defeated? Fortunately, a number of great victories came just before the election. Besides, the people were convinced that Davis demanded the independence of the Confederacy as the price of peace. Lincoln carried the people's vote by more than four hundred thousand. This was the largest majority yet given a president.

SUGGESTED READINGS

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Fiction: Kerbey, The Boy Spy.

PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. Describe the scenes in Fort Sumter and the scenes in Charleston at the time of the surrender. 2. When Sumter falls you go with Douglas to call on the President. Write what they probably said. 3. Go from New York with the "Monitor" to Hampton Roads. Write about its battle with the "Merrimac." 4. Visit a hospital with Lincoln and tell of his conversation with the boys. 5. You are a Confederate soldier in Pickett's great charge. You get back safe. Describe what it was like.

CHAPTER XIX

THE END OF THE STRUGGLE

THE CONFEDERACY GRADUALLY WEARING OUT

486. Grant the Union head (1864). Lincoln had a long, hard search for a leader for his army. The Confederacy had a leader from the beginning. After Chattanooga, Lincoln made Grant 166 lieutenant-general in charge of the Union armies.

With an army of 120,000 men Grant plunged into the Wilderness in Virginia, where he met Lee with an army only half as large. Grant made no headway and decided upon a flank movement to the left. But Lee faced him

at Spottsylvania. Hard fighting again took place. Another flanking movement to the left, but there was Lee again at Cold Harbor! Grant ordered a direct assault. The North shuddered when it heard his loss.

Lee's works proved too strong, and Grant moved to the left, crossed the James, and began the siege of Petersburg. In less than eight weeks the Union loss amounted to fifty thousand!



In the same time Lee had lost only twenty thousand, but his ranks could hardly be filled again. The Confederacy now had only young boys and old men left.

487. In the Shenandoah (1864). To break Grant's grip Lee sent Early by way of the Shenandoah against Washington. The North was in terror until Grant sent



more troops. Early retreated, carrying food for Lee's army.

Grant now sent General Sheridan to the Shenandoah with double the force Early had Sheridan succeeded in defeating the Confederates in two battles, Winchester and Cedar Creek. At

Cedar Creek Sheridan saved the day only by riding from Winchester, where he had spent the night. He rallied his retreating men.

Sheridan now began the work of destruction, making the Shenandoah impossible as a granary for Lee's army.

488. The Hampton Roads Conference (1865). The Union victories in the fall of 1864 made everyone hope for early peace. Friends on both sides persuaded Lincoln and Davis to send commissioners to Hampton Roads for a meeting to talk over plans of peace. Lincoln went and likewise Vice-President Stephens of the Confederacy. Lincoln's terms were: (1) the Confederacy to lay down its arms and submit to the Union; (2) to accept emancipation. Davis stood for one thing: the independence of the Confederacy. This Lincoln refused, but promised to try to obtain the consent of Congress to pay for the slaves. Had Davis been less determined, some agreement to Lincoln's terms might have been made. We can now see what might have been saved: the assassination of Lincoln and the dark days of reconstruction!

489. The campaign for Atlanta (1864). To Sherman fell the task of capturing Atlanta. It was an important railroad center with great factories.

When Grant moved on Lee, Sherman moved against Johnston at Dalton, Georgia. By repeated flanking movements backed by bold fighting Johnston was forced, in two months, south to Kenesaw Mountain. Here Sherman tried a direct assault, but, like Grant's (§486), it failed. Johnston retreated skillfully, as Lee had done.



THE GEORGIA CAMPAIGN AND THE RED RIVER EXPEDITION

Sherman¹⁰⁷ was now within a few miles of Atlanta. The South was getting nervous, and Davis removed Johnston¹⁶⁸ and put Hood in his place. Hood was a fighter. Battle

after battle followed, until Hood was driven into Atlanta. In order to escape a long siege, he blew up his powder



DAVID GLASGOW FARRAGUT

magazines and left Atlanta (September 2).

490. Farragut captures Mobile Bay (1864). In the meantime Mobile Bay had been captured. Blockade runners had found Mobile Bay a good place. From this point the Confederacy got European and other supplies. The entrance to the bay was strongly fortified and guarded by a monster ironclad, the "Tennessee."

Farragut (\$404) lashed his boats together two and two, and tied himself to the rigging of his ship. Here he directed the battle amid a storm of shot and shell from the Confederate batteries. It was terrific but short. He got past the forts with the loss of one vessel, but the Confederates lost their entire fleet. Breaking up blockade running here, together with the fall of Atlanta, was like cutting a main artery of the Confederacy.

491. The blockade tightens. The Confederate navy destroyed. Day by day the blockade grew tighter. Only a few ships on the darkest nights dared steal in and out. The prices of things rose very high in the Confederacy. Everything made of iron grew extremely dear. Things to eat and wear were scarce and unbelievably high. The Confederate soldiers were not well fed nor well clothed, and medicines were hard to get.

492. Confederate privateers. Early in the war the most famous cruiser of the Confederates was the "Sumter." She destroyed property right and left until she was captured. The "Florida," built in England for the Confederacy, was early captured. The "Alabama" was the "terror of the seas." She was built at Liverpool and destroyed over sixty merchant ships. She was sunk by the "Kearsarge" off the French coast (June, 1864). Another Confederate cruiser, the "Shenandoah," escaped into the Pacific and kept up her work until the end of the war.

493. From Atlanta to the sea. Thomas' victory (1865). With sixty thousand veterans Sherman swept from Atlanta to the sea. He sent Lincoln this word: "A Christmas gift of the city of Savannah!" The destruction of property on this march caused deep hatred in the South.



THE "KEARSARGE SINKS THE "ALABAMA"

Hood struck at Sherman's line of supplies, but Sherman did not stop, for he had sent Thomas¹⁶⁹ with another sixty thousand veterans after this Confederate general.

With great fury Hood attacked Schofield's division, a part of Thomas' army, at Franklin, but failed. When all was ready, Thomas dealt Hood a terrific blow at Nashville (December 15, 16). Hood's army went reeling southward. He resigned. Only nineteen thousand men were left to join their old commander, Johnston, in North Carolina.

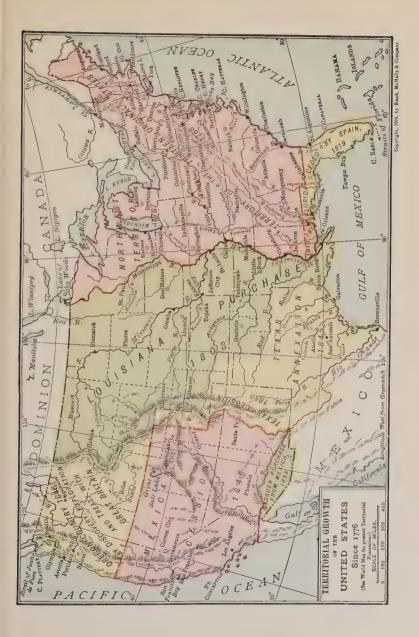
404. Sherman turns north (1865). Sherman started northward in February. Unfortunately Columbia, South Carolina, was burned. Charleston soon fell, for Fort Sumter had been battered to pieces (1863). Sherman defeated Johnston, whose army was too small to fight much. Finally Sherman marched to Goldsboro and rested. A month later came the welcome news that Lee had surrendered.

405. The capital of the Confederacy falls (1865). Early in the year Sheridan had cut Lee's lines of connection to the westward. He then moved around and



THE CONFEDERATE CAPITOL

extended Grant's line farther southward. He finally seized Five Points, thus cutting off Lee's supplies.





Davis was at church. A messenger gave him Lee's dispatch. He left silently. The end had come. Men

were hurrying to and fro with the papers and records of the Confederacy. Soldiers and citizens were busy carrying away some stores and destroving others.



LEE AFTER THE SURRENDER

In the confusion fires were started. Lee's soldiers left that night, and in the morning Grant's came in. Richmond had fallen. The Union troops put out the fire.

496. The surrender at Appomattox (April 9, 1865). Lee had intended to take his army by way of Danville and unite with Johnston in North Carolina. The Confederates reached Appomattox, but saw the Union troops everywhere. Lee's army had been cut down almost half (§486), and further fighting was useless.

Lee and Grant held a meeting and arranged the terms of surrender. They could hardly have been more generous. The Confederate soldiers were to go to their homes and not engage in the war again. They were to take their horses with them. "They will need them in the spring for plowing and farm work," said Grant. Lee's officers and men crowded around him. The men took off their hats. Lee simply said: "We have fought

through the war together. I have done my best for you. My heart is too full to say more."

497. Closing out the Confederacy. Grant and his officers went back to their men and gave them orders not to cheer nor fire cannon over the great event. It was hard for the men to obey this command, for however much sympathy they might feel for Lee's men, their hearts were full of rejoicing over the saving of the Union.

Johnston surrendered to Sherman, April 26. Taylor, who commanded in Alabama and Mississippi, gave up May 24, and Kirby Smith, who was in charge west of the Mississippi, May 26. Davis, who was trying to reach Smith, was captured at Irwinville, Georgia.

Northern men talked about arresting some of the Confederate officers, but Grant refused to permit any man who had surrendered to be touched. President Davis was a civil officer and was imprisoned, but was bailed out of prison by Horace Greeley and other northern men.

498. The assassination of Lincoln (April 14, 1865). Lincoln was happy. He went to Richmond to see the city that had given him so many anxious hours. He returned and told some friends that he hoped that there would be no persecution, no bloodshed after the war was over. "No one," he said, "need expect me to take any part in hanging or killing those men." Of all northern men, he best understood the South.

Lincoln went to Ford's theater one fateful night. Suddenly John Wilkes Booth, a half-crazy actor, shot him. He died next morning. Booth escaped, but was caught and shot. Persons in the plot aimed to kill Seward and others, but their plans failed. Some of the plotters were hanged, and others were put in prison for life.

A wave of sorrow swept over the North. Men had come to love Lincoln's great, homely, kindly face. The common folk almost worshiped him. Many of them broke down and cried when the news came. He died as he lived, "with malice toward none, with charity for all."

499. The soldiers return (1865). It was a happy thought that brought as many soldiers as possible to Washington for a last review. For two days the veterans paraded through the broad streets of the capital. They missed the kindly leader and friend whom they all loved. But other great men were there to review and to cheer them. It was a grand spectacle. The last roll was called, the last banner furled, and the war-scarred veteran returned home to receive the welcome of waiting loved ones. But there were hearts among those waiting that could not rejoice; thousands of fathers, sons, and sweethearts were sleeping in southern soil.

But there was another scene. For the southern soldiers there was no stately parade. They bade old comrades a hearty good-by. One by one, or in little bands, they slowly journeyed home. Their hearts were sad. They had lost. But more than all, their homes were in ruins and their loved ones in poverty. But they were glad to be home again with father and mother or with wife and children.

THE IMMEDIATE EFFECTS OF THE STRUGGLE

500. What the war cost in life. No one can tell the full story of the suffering during this conflict. What a frightful thing it would be to know what the sick suffered, what torture the wounded bore with little to make the pain less! At least 500,000 soldiers died. Think of the men crippled for life, the number whose lives were made shorter by disease or exposure! We do not often think

of the suffering of the loved ones who stayed at home, and of the widows and orphans made by the war.



SANITARY COMMISSION HEADOUARTERS

Nearly all southern men of military age went to war. That so large a number were able to go was due to the fact that the slave staved at home, raised the crops, and cared for

the women and old men on the plantations. The draft came a bit earlier in the South than in the North (§483). In the two armies almost twice as many men died from disease as were killed in battle!170

501. Sanitary and Christian commissions. In the North kind-hearted people were prompt to go to the relief of the soldier. The Sanitary Commission tried to care for the men's bodies. It aided the government in many ways. It furnished doctors, medicines, bandages, and nurses for the sick and wounded. Its hospitals, cars, and tents moved as the army moved. The money for this came from rich people and from great fairs held in the big cities.

The Christian Commission looked after the moral and religious welfare of the soldiers. Ministers of all denominations were enrolled as chaplains. They held religious meetings, talked with dying soldiers, and often wrote the soldier's last message to loved ones in the old home. They also furnished papers, magazines, and books for the boys to read. In every way the chaplain tried to keep up the moral tone of the army. It was the faith and work of the mothers, sisters, and sweethearts that kept the armies of the North well cared for and hopeful.

502. The Confederacy worn out. The Confederate soldier was in a very different situation. He often

marched and fought in the last days of the war without good shoes, without enough clothing, and at times without much food. It was no fault of the noble women who sacrificed to get him clothing, bandages, and medicines. The Confederacy was being choked to death by the



A CONFEDERATE HOSPITAL

blockade. This fate was overtaking them in spite of their struggles, prayers, and tears.

In the spring of 1862 the government was forced to draft men; in 1865 old men and boys were sent to the front. The slave raised food for the army and served in many places; he was servant to the officers, cook, teamster, and laborer on the forts. In the last days, when the man-power of the Confederacy was exhausted, General Lee favored arming the slaves, but it was too near the end.

The women of the Confederacy had to get out the spinning wheels and hand looms of their grandmothers. Homemade clothes were worn, for manufactured goods were too scarce or too dear. Newspapers were printed on wall paper. Many families, both South and North, were compelled to use parched grains instead of coffee. The Confederacy felt the pinch of poverty.

503. What the war cost in loss of property. It is hard to measure the loss of property. Millions upon millions of dollars were used up in the wearing out of clothes,

guns, powder, shot and shell, wagons, horses, mules, cars, engines, and iron rails. Even wooden rails torn from fences around farms were used for fuel in camps and for cooking. Houses were destroyed, barns burned, cattle and hogs killed, railroads torn up, and cities set on fire and partly burned. This was war. But it seems tame when compared with the destruction of the World War just closed (1918).

The South suffered most, the border slave states next, the border free states less, and the other northern states but little.

The most extensive raid into the North was made by General John Morgan and his dashing cavalrymen (1863).¹⁷¹ He crossed into Indiana with a few hundred men, and dashed into Ohio where he was captured. Aside from horses and food taken, he destroyed little.



A SOUTHERN PLANTER'S DESERTED HOME

504. A ruined planter and plantation. No person suffered more than the planter. He rode to battle full of hope. He returned in despair. The cause of the Confederacy was lost. His field laborers and his house servants had been set free. This alone cost the slaveholders \$2,000,000,000. His plantation was in ruins. He was

not used to laboring in the field, nor were his wife and daughters used to doing work in the household.

Things had changed. He must start at the bottom. If his buildings and tools and fences had escaped destruction, they were out of repair. Horses and mules were worn out or had been taken by the armies as they swept by. His cows and sheep and droves of hogs had been used to feed the army. The blockade had lowered the price of all he had to sell, and raised the price of all he had to buy. His money was worthless. His own slave, who had been a soldier and had saved his money, might now want to buy a part of the old plantation.

505. What the war did for the North. When we think of the destruction at the South, we can say that the North hardly knew what war meant. But in every village and city in the North there was the recruiting camp. Mothers, wives, daughters, and sweethearts wept as the soldiers went marching away with flags flying and drums beating.

After great battles crowds gathered to hear some man with a good voice read the news. Maybe later they read the long lists of dead and wounded to see if the name of some loved one might be there! Perhaps they did honor to a great hero brought home to be buried! There were flowers, the long roll, and the solemn sound of fife and drum as they carried him to his last resting-place! There appeared wounded and crippled soldiers to remind people of war. Heavier taxes and the drafting of men brought the conflict nearer home.

But the North did not feel the tramp of marching armies and the destruction of home and growing crops. With the exception of Gettysburg no great battles were fought on northern soil. But, on the contrary, wages began to rise because laborers had to be taken for the war.

The government called for great quantities of clothes for soldier and sailor, and for guns and ammunition. This



SALMON P. CHASE

gave a great "boom" to manufacturing. To the northern farmer came a quick and powerful call for more food. But the farmer's sons had gone to war. He had to send in a call for more machinery. Many new machines were invented. The farmer had to raise more hogs, sheep, cattle, horses, and mules for the army. Every line of business was prosperous.

506. A new kind of bank (1863). Ever since Jackson

destroyed the United States bank (§359) banking business had been turned over to state banks. These banks issued paper money, some bad, some good.

During the war Secretary Chase (§426) suggested a plan by which the paper money of the new banks did not change value as much as the old did. According to this plan each bank had to own a given amount of United States bonds. The banks could then issue paper money equal to 90 per cent of the bonds. Thus the government pledged itself to stand behind the banks' paper money. It made the money as good as the bonds. If the state banks wished the nation to get behind their paper money, they must become national banks.

507. Raising money for the war. It was the business of Congress to get the money to carry on the war. It did this in three ways: (1) By taxes. Congress increased old taxes and put on new ones. The tariff had been the common way of getting most of our taxes. The new tax on imported goods was called the "war tariff." Another new tax was the land tax and a tax on incomes of \$800 or more. Finally, Congress raised money by means of an internal revenue. This was mainly a tax on liquors (\$285).

- (2) By issuing bonds. It soon turned out that the taxes were not enough to pay for a war costing \$2,000,000 per day. By means of bonds the government borrowed money from the people. But in the end the people have to pay for the bonds by taxes. These bonds were promises to pay, bearing interest of from 6 per cent to 9 per cent. About \$1,000,000,000 came into the treasury in this way.
- (3) By issuing paper money. But taxes and bonds were not enough. The government issued notes, called "greenbacks" because the back of the notes was often green. When the Confederates won victories, this paper money fell in value. When Union victories came, it rose in value. The same was true of Confederate paper money.

The cost of the war reached nearly \$3,000,000,000. To this great sum ought to be added the enormous amount paid for pensions. When we add the large sums paid by states, cities, towns, and persons, the war cost probably reached from six to eight billions.

STATES ADMITTED THROUGH STRESS OF WAR AND POLITICS

508. Kansas (1861). Kansas was under the control of Spain, France, Spain again (1763), and France again when Napoleon's star was rising. He sold it to America as a part of Louisiana (1803). Now came the explorers: Lewis and Clark (1804), Pike (1806), Long, who followed the Santa Fe Trail, and Frémont (1842), who blazed the way to Oregon and California. Kansas was made part of

Indian Territory (1833–54). The moment the Kansas-Nebraska Bill was passed (1854) Kansas became a bone of contention between the North and South. Much of her history has been told (§\$432–34). It is claimed that Kansas sent a larger percentage of soldiers to the Civil War than any other state. One of the most interesting industrial experiments is Governor Allen's court for settling strikes (1920). Kansas, called the Sunflower state, is a wonderful agricultural country.

509. West Virginia (1863). West Virginia, once a part of the Old Dominion, was largely settled by Scotch-Irish (§110). Much of its history has already been told (§455). The Civil War found the people of the mountains strong for the Union, although many persons fought in the armies of the Confederacy. Stonewall Jackson, the great soldier, was born in this state. Since the war there has been a wonderful increase in the production of coal, natural gas, and petroleum. In the amount of coal mined West Virginia stands second in the Union. For several years it has ranked first in natural gas. It produced nearly a billion and a half dollars' worth of lumber in 1910. As a result it has increased in population more than 25 per cent each year since 1890.

510. Nevada (1864). The state of Nevada was in reality born out of conditions created by the Civil War. It is known as the "sage-brush" state or in Spanish the "snow-covered" state. Nevada is sixth in area among the states, but is last in population. Between 1775 and 1845 it had been seen by various white men. Frémont saw it in three different years and gave the names to Pyramid Lake, Lake Tahoe, and the Humboldt and Truckee rivers. It was first settled at Genoa (1849). In this year gold was first discovered. Ten years later the wonderful

"Comstock Lode" was opened, the richest gold mine ever found. The rush of miners now set in, and a territorial government was organized (1857). Nevada became a state after telegraphing her constitution to Washington City. Lincoln needed her vote to carry the Thirteenth Amendment.

511. Nebraska (1867). This region, supposed to have been visited by Coronado (§18), was first a Spanish and then a French possession. Napoleon sold it to Jefferson (1803), and Lewis and Clark camped on its soil (§300). Lisa built a trading post just above Council Bluff. Here Major Long established a military post (1819). Frémont passed through this region on his expedition (1842).

It was organized into a territory in 1854 (§432). The first governors were southern men and quarreled with the legislature over slavery. Slavery was abolished (1861). President Johnson and Congress quarreled over the admission of the state, but Congress was victor and the state was admitted.

William J. Bryan hails from Nebraska. He is a Democrat and Prohibitionist.

512. Colorado (1876). The "Centennial State" was first visited, it is claimed, by Coronado and his men (1541). These were the first to see the homes of the cliff-dwellers. Spain and France traded this region back and forth until a part fell to the United States in the Louisiana Purchase. Mexico also claimed a part which she ceded to the United States by treaty (1848). The American explorers to visit Colorado were Pike, Long, and Frémont. The discovery of gold near Boulder (1858) and Idaho Springs (1859) was the signal for a rush of people to Colorado. The names of Leadville, Cripple Creek, Ouray, and Silverton suggest that Colorado leads in the output of precious metals.

Colorado organized as the Territory of Jefferson (1859) and ran without the aid of the national government until 1861. Political conditions forced the Republicans to admit the state in 1876.

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Fiction: Collingwood, Blue and Grey; Cooke, Mohun; Goss, Jed.

PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. Write a letter home from the Wilderness campaign. 2. You are a Union spy. Report to General Grant what you saw in Richmond just before the surrender. 3. Visit a negro in Georgia and listen to his reasons for remaining faithful to his "missus." 4. Report Sherman's march to the sea. 5. You are in Washington at the "Grand Review." How do you feel?

CHAPTER XX

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE SOUTH

THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND CONGRESS

513. Lincoln's and Johnson's plan. Lincoln was generous toward the South and had declared that no state can go out of the Union (§451). He said the Confederate states had tried to secede but had failed. Lincoln thought that the easiest way was best. Just as soon, therefore, as the Federal armies had overrun a state, he sent forth an "Amnesty Proclamation." This, with few exceptions, gave pardon to those taking an oath to support and defend the Constitution, the laws of Congress, and the Emancipation Proclamation. Three states accepted

Lincoln's plan and elected representatives to Congress. Congress refused to admit them, and sent Lincoln a plan of reconstruction. He did not agree to it (July, 1864).

Johnson was in harmony with Lincoln's plan of reconstruction. But there is a great difference in men. Lincoln, with his wise, firm, but gentle way, might have won even that Congress to some such plan. Not so



with Johnson. He was stubborn when once he had set his mind in a given way. Unfortunately for the nation,

Congress had in it a large number of men made bitter by the long struggle, who felt that southern leaders must be sternly dealt with. Many of these northern leaders put no faith in the southerners who had taken the oath required by Lincoln.

514. Beginning to differ about reconstruction (1865). While Congress was out of session, Johnson hurried on the work of reconstruction. He appointed governors for the southern states. These states made new constitutions and repealed the acts of secession (§445). They declared the slaves free and agreed not to pay one dollar of the Confederate debt.

Congress felt that the negro must be protected. It did not know that his old master was, as a rule, his best friend. So Congress passed the Freedmen's Bureau Bill to protect the negro. The North saw in the laws bearing on negro labor, passed by southern states, an attempt to turn the colored man back to a sort of slavery. The Republicans stood for the Freedmen's Bill, but Democrats were against it, and the President vetoed it.

515. Battle between the President and Congress (1866-67). The battle was on between the President and Congress. In the other's eyes neither could do any good thing. The President scolded Congress, and in like temper Congress replied. The President vetoed every bill touching reconstruction Congress presented to him. Among these was the Civil Rights Bill. This measure made the negro a citizen. It gave him the same right as a white man to use the United States courts. To make these rights safe, they were put in the Fourteenth Amendment.

In some of the northern states free negroes were permitted to vote. Lincoln had argued in favor of giving "the right to vote to the very intelligent, and especially

to those who have fought gallantly in the ranks." But Congress went much farther and voted to amend the Constitution so as to give the negro manhood suffrage (1870). This was the Fifteenth Amendment.

- 516. Military rule in the South (1867). Congress now struck with a high hand. It divided the seceded states, Tennessee excepted, into five districts and placed over each a military governor appointed by the President. This meant that the governor was to carry out the orders of Congress.
- 517. Impeachment of the President (1868). Feeling was now running high in all parts of the country. The President had denounced Congress, and Congress had returned the compliment. The Republicans of the country supported Congress, and the Democrats stood by Johnson. Congress forbade the President to turn men out of office without the consent of the Senate (Art. II, §2, •2). It put General Grant in complete control over the army to keep the President from calling the troops out of the South.

Johnson, in his wrath, turned Secretary of War Stanton out of office. Congress immediately impeached Johnson for "high crimes and misdemeanors" (Art. II, §4).

The charges against Johnson were tried before the Senate acting as a jury. The chief justice sat as presiding officer. People came from all parts of the country; they were eager to see the great trial and to hear the ablest lawyers in the country. For nearly eight weeks the trial went on. Finally the Senate voted thirty-five "guilty" and nineteen "not guilty." The charges against Johnson 173 had failed! (Art. I, §3, ¶6, 7.)

518. Carpetbaggers and scalawags (1868-70). As a result of the situation, the negroes and their leaders had

obtained a majority of votes in several southern states. These leaders had come mainly from the North to make their fortunes. They kept about all their property in carpetbags (small handbags). Hence they were called "carpetbaggers." A few leaders were from the South; they were called "scalawags." These men very easily persuaded the negroes to elect them to office.

519. Negro rule in the South. In the majority of the Confederate states negroes now took control. A strange body of men to make laws for states so broken by war'. A few were intelligent because they had been the trusted servants of their masters. Others were ignorant field-hands who had spent their days toiling in tobacco, cotton, and rice fields. But all were ignorant of public business.

How strange it all seemed to the old planters! In these same halls they had heard the voices of Calhoun and Hayne, or of Toombs and Stephens! If a white member rose to speak, he must address a former slave sitting in the speaker's chair. If he offered a resolution, he must hear it read to the legislature by a negro clerk. If he served on an important committee, its chairman and the majority of its members were negroes.

While the legislature was debating a bill to raise money, the greatest excitement would occur. The speaker pounded his desk to keep order, still many persons were on their feet all trying to speak at the same time. The noise of loud talking and even of laughing went right on. Some members leaned back with their feet on their desks, smoking cigars or eating peanuts, while those who were to profit by the bill were busy trying to buy votes for it.

520. What it meant to have negro rule. (1) At the very time when they were least able to meet them, the states were burdened with debts requiring years for their

payment. (2) This new experience gave the negro a false notion of what he could do. It became so much harder for him to practice those homely virtues of hard work, thrift, and self-control. (3) It destroyed much of the friendly feeling existing between the white man and the negro, and produced years of suspicion and friction.

521. How the South got rid of negro rule. How could the South get rid of these corrupt state governments?



THE KU-KLUX KLAN MAKES A CALL

Were the negro majorities not backed by the soldiers? The white citizens hit upon using the Ku-Klux Klan, a social secret society already in existence. The Klan arose in Tennessee and spread over the South. Its workings were mysterious. Its members went through strange performances. They had a ghostlike dress, and took midnight rides on horses covered often with white sheets. In the dead of night they suddenly appeared before the colored man's cabin. To the negroes they seemed to be the spirits of dead Confederates coming back to avenge

their unhappy fate. If the bolder negroes and their white leaders gave no heed to warnings, they were whipped, driven away, and some of them murdered.

522. Congress tries to protect the negro. We have already seen Congress pass the Fifteenth Amendment. This provided that no citizen should lose his vote "on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude" (Amendment XV). The majority in Congress, against great opposition, succeeded in passing two bills, called "Force Bills." These bills declared that anyone preventing the negro from voting, or his vote from being counted, should be fined and put in prison (1870–71).

In 1872 Congress finally passed the Amnesty Act (§513), granting the right to vote to many ex-Confederates.

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PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. Resolved that Johnson's plan for reconstruction was better than the plan of Congress. 2. Describe a day's session of the legislature of South Carolina when the negroes controlled it. 3. As a small boy you used to hear your Uncle John, who was a member of the Ku-Klux Klan, tell of some of its doings. Describe them in a letter to a friend.

CHAPTER XXI

NEW PROBLEMS IN POLITICS

NEW QUESTIONS ARISE WITH FOREIGN NATIONS

523. The United States does Mexico a good turn. While the United States was torn by the Civil War, the tricky French monarch took advantage of it to invade Mexico.

Mexico, disturbed and weak from quarrels and revolutions, had refused to pay Spain, England, and France what she owed them. Her seaports were occupied by these nations. Spain and England withdrew, but French troops occupied the city of Mexico. Maximilian of Austria was induced to put himself on the throne of Mexico.

Secretary Seward informed Napoleon that French soldiers on American soil were a violation of the Monroe Doctrine. General Sheridan moved toward the Rio Grande with fifty thousand boys in blue. The French soldiers were withdrawn, the Mexicans shot Maximilian, and the republic of Mexico was restored.

524. The purchase of Alaska (1867). America and Russia had always been on friendly terms. Russia had never been able to make much out of Alaska and when Secretary Seward offered to buy it, he found Russia willing to listen. Seward finally offered \$7,200,000 for Alaska, Russia accepted, and the treaty was signed.

A great cry arose in the United States, for most people believed it was an icebound region. "Seward's Ice-box," the newspapers called it. The treaty was ratified and 577,000 square miles were added to American soil and one less nation occupied North America.

The people of the United States find Alaska a rich source of gold and other metals and a vast storehouse of timber, fur, and fish.



THE GENEVA TRIBUNAL

525. The Geneva Award (1872). The plan of settling disputes by arbitration is not very old. The United States and Great Britain have taken the lead in this gentler way than by going to war.

The first great test came over the "Alabama" case. Several warships were built in England for the Confederacy during our Civil War. The United States protested against this because England was a neutral nation, but the government of Great Britain paid no attention to these complaints.

The "Alabama," the "Shenandoah," and the "Florida" played havoc with American trade on the high seas. The United States claimed that England should pay for the damage done.

By the treaty of Washington the two nations agreed to submit the claims of the United States to arbitration. A great court met in Geneva, Switzerland. The United

States and Great Britain selected a judge apiece and three other judges were selected by three neutral nations.

This court decided that Great Britain should pay the United States \$15,000,000. Great Britain paid promptly and thus was given a great example to the world.

NEW QUESTIONS CAUSE NEW PARTIES

526. Old and new parties (1872). The coming of war split parties (§§443-44), but when it ended there were but two great ones again. All men were either Democrats or Republicans. Some men liked to argue war questions. Others grew tired of them and of keeping alive the old war feelings. These people called for a kindlier feeling toward the South. They were named "Liberal Republicans," and nominated Horace Greeley, editor of the New York Tribune, for president.

The Democrats "threw up their hats" and nominated Greeley, too. But he had been too long opposed to the Democrats, so a few of them put up a "real Democrat." The Republicans nominated President Grant again.

Other new questions were coming to the front. The Labor Party put up a ticket for the first time. They called for paper money and an eight-hour law and were opposed to Chinese coming to this country.

A national Prohibition party was now formed and a candidate nominated (1872).

Grant's victory was overwhelming. Greeley carried only six states. 175

527. The panic of 1873.¹⁷⁶ The war taught men new ways of doing business. They saw great armies sweeping over the country—the bigger, the more successful! Why cannot business imitate them? Railroads and other corporations tried this plan. Out West the railroads

were built faster than the people came. Great manufactories made more goods than the people could buy. Business was unsettled.

The rich firm of Jay Cooke and Company failed. It could not pay its debts. People in New York grew excited. Crowds of yelling people filled the sidewalks of Wall Street. They swarmed into the basement, climbed over railings, and pushed past policemen into the offices of the doomed company.

The whole country was now alarmed. "Runs" on banks took place everywhere. More than ten thousand business houses failed between 1873 and 1874. But the working man bore the worst of the suffering.

528. Bad politics works against the Republicans. The Democrats were happy. The people were blaming the Republicans for the panic and for bad politics. The Whisky Ring had cheated the government out of large sums of money. The Tweed Ring¹⁷⁷ was ruling the city of New York. One of President Grant's high officers was caught selling contracts in his own department, and was forced to resign. Congressmen were proved guilty of taking stock in a railroad to which Congress had voted large sums. Congress, near the end of its term, voted to increase the salaries of its own members from the beginning of the term. This was called, in politics, the "salary grab," and cost many a congressman his seat.

Nearly all this corruption was laid at the Republicans' door. The result was that the Democrats carried the House of Representatives by a large majority for the first time since the war.

529. Who is president, Hayes or Tilden (1876)? For the first time in our history, Congress could not tell who was elected president. The Democrats had gone into

this campaign full of hope. Their candidate was Samuel I. Tilden, the great lawyer who had broken up the Tweed

Ring (§528).

The Republicans had put forward General Hayes, three times governor of Ohio: A new party, the "Greenback," appeared and called on the government to put out more paper money so that the poor, man might earn higher wages and pay his debts.

Unfortunately both Hayes and Tilden claimed the election. Congress named an "Electoral Commission" of



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fifteen men to settle the dispute. The country was wild with excitement, and threats of "civil war" were heard. Three states, where the "carpetbaggers" were being driven out, sent in two sets of electoral votes. This commission decided these votes in favor of Hayes by a vote of eight to seven. The excitement gradually died away. 178

530. The fall of the carpetbaggers (1877). Haves was a man of great moral courage. He immediately removed the soldiers from the South. Extreme Republicans were angry, and Democrats were happy. The white men of the South now took charge, and better governments were established. A kindlier feeling between the two sections gradually came about, especially since Hayes had called an ex-Confederate soldier, David M. Key, to be a member of his cabinet.

531. The election of Garfield and Arthur (1880). Some Republicans thought Grant could be nominated



for a third term since Hayes had been so kind to the South. But they failed in their attempt. General Garfield was nominated. The Democrats nominated General Hancock (§478), the "Greenbackers," General Weaver, and the Prohibitionists, General Neal Dow. This was a campaign of the generals; much was said about their services in the war. General Garfield won by a large majority.

But he, too, disappointed some Republican leaders. He was a wise and noble man. He refused to appoint men to office simply because members of Congress

wanted them. The people were behind him in this stand. Unfortunately, a half-crazy man shot him as he was taking the train to his old college town to celebrate the Fourth of July. For three months he lay between life and death. The American people learned to hate the "spoils system" (§356) as never before.

532. The reform of the Civil Service (1883). 179 Both Grant and Hayes had



demanded a change in the way men were appointed to office. Since the death of Garfield, good men everywhere joined in the cry for a change in this system. Now Senator Pendleton, a Democrat, introduced a bill by which men could get office not because they were party workers (§356) but because they were best fitted for it. This bill provided that men should be examined for the offices they wanted. Arthur, who became president when Garfield died, signed the bill. Every president since then has added to the Civil Service until now more than half the offices are filled by examination. Several states and cities now use the same system.

533. Cleveland, the first Democratic president since the war (1884). The Democrats went in to win. They started by nominating Grover Cleveland, a lawyer. He had been mayor of Buffalo, and was elected governor of

New York by a big majority. The Republicans had not read the "signs of the times." They nominated James G. Blaine, of Maine. He was popular—had been three times speaker of the House. He stood for the spoils system and denounced the South for not permitting the negro to vote. A number of Republicans, nicknamed "Mugwumps," refused to support Blaine. The Prohibitionists nominated St. John and put up a strong fight. The Green-



backers put up General Benjamin F. Butler, who appealed to the soldier vote. These forces drew from the Republicans.

As a result Cleveland barely carried New York. Its vote was in doubt for several days, and men remembered 1876 (§529). This time it was settled in favor of the Democrats.

- 534. No more disputes over the election of the president. Congress went to work in earnest to prevent disputes over the presidency. It passed, and Cleveland signed, a bill providing that when neither the president nor the vice-president is able to act, the secretary of state, followed by other members of the cabinet, shall act. Another bill provided that each state shall decide which way its vote is to be counted.
- 535. Interstate Commerce Commission (1887). The Constitution had given Congress power over commerce among the states (Art. I, §8, §3). For a long time people had been grumbling about the railroads. The different companies had been uniting their roads, so that now a few controlled all the roads in the United States. The states could tax them, but could do little in making rules for the commerce they carried, for most of it went from one state to another. As soon as a carload of wheat or meat was started for a station in another state no state law dared to touch it (Art. I, §8, ¶3). Congress, therefore, passed the famous Interstate Commerce Commission Bill (1887). This law made one rule that no road should charge more per mile for a short haul than for a long haul. Another rule was that all railroads should keep their freight rates posted where people could see them.

The railroads finally tried to get around this law by charging the same rates for all hauls and then paying back part to one shipper but not to another. This paying back a part of the charge was called a "rebate." Congress made the laws stronger and also compelled the roads to use inventions to protect the lives of passengers.

536. Harrison elected over Cleveland (1888). General Harrison had borne his part in the Civil War and was

now a United States senator from Indiana. His grandfather had been president (§362), and the Republicans tried to imitate the campaign of 1840. Log cabins, raccoons, big balls rolling on, striking campaign songs, and Tippecanoe clubs were brought before the people. But the great argument of the Harrison men was for a high protective tariff. The tariff had been greatly reduced under Cleveland.

Cleveland lost the support of many old soldiers because he had



vetoed too many pension bills, and of many Democrats because he had not turned enough Republicans out of office. He was trying to keep down the spoils system.

The other parties had their candidates. Harrison won. The electoral vote was 233 to 168, but the popular vote went to Cleveland by more than 100,000.

537. The surplus and tariff legislation. The war had left the nation groaning under a big debt (§507). To the surprise of many, more than half had been paid in less than twenty years. Most of the money to do this had come from the tariff. As the debt grew less people began to demand that the "war tariff" be cut down. This did not suit the manufacturers.

In 1887 the war debt due had been paid, and a large amount of money was left in the treasury. Everybody

agreed that this "surplus" should not be left idle, but they did not agree as to how it should be used.

President Cleveland had recommended, and Congressman Mills had introduced, a bill to lessen the surplus by cutting down the tariff. The Senate, much to the disgust of Cleveland, rejected the bill. Hence the tariff called out a big fight in the Harrison-Cleveland campaign.

538. How the people voted on the tariff (1888). The McKinley Bill (1890). The Republicans favored a high tariff. For campaign purposes they charged the Democrats with aiming at "free trade" because they wanted a lower tariff. Most of the Republicans lived in the North, while most of the Democrats lived in the South.

But some changes had taken place since the war. The farmers in some parts of the North now began to favor a low tariff to reduce the cost of living. In the South men running the new iron and cotton mills began to favor a high tariff.

The Republicans took the election to mean that the people were opposed to cutting down the tariff. McKinley brought in a bill to raise it. This bill also gave the president the right to make treaties with other nations, agreeing to reduce the tariff. This was called reciprocity. The Republicans proposed to reduce the surplus by spending it in pensions for old soldiers and their widows, for new buildings over the country, and for the new navy which had been begun under Arthur.

539. Greenbacks and politics (1880–89). The government had been driven to put out more than \$430,000,000 in "greenbacks" during the war. They fell very low in value compared with gold or silver money. But prices paid to the farmer and wages paid to the laborer were never so high. 1800 After the panic of 1873 the Greenback

party was formed to force Congress to send out more paper money. Congress did not do this, but in 1875 passed a law to "resume specie payment." By this Congress meant that banks should pay out gold and silver money if people wanted it.

540. Populism. Ever since 1873 the discontent of the farmers of the West had been increasing. Feeling that the big political parties were controlled by the men of the East for their own interest, they organized the Granger movement of the West and the Greenback party (§529). In western legislatures Grangers passed laws intended to bring about fairer freight rates and lower charges for the use of grain elevators. The Greenbackers polled three hundred thousand votes in 1880 (§531) and then began to drift away from the party, but the farmers did not give up. They organized the Farmers' Alliance and won a few seats in Congress in 1890.

A meeting of the Knights of Labor and the Farmers' Alliance was held in St. Louis in 1891. They agreed to work together under the name of the Peoples' or Populist party. They nominated General James B. Weaver of Iowa for president. In their platform they called for the free and unlimited coinage of silver so as to put more money into circulation, an income tax, government ownership of railroads and all monopolies, and a postal savings bank.

541. The election of 1892. The McKinley Tariff Bill proved the undoing of the Republicans. The Democrats vigorously charged Congress with extravagance. Merchants raised prices and said the McKinley law compelled them to do it. People became dissatisfied with the Republican administration. When the campaign of 1892 came on, Harrison was renominated by the

Republicans, but Cleveland, the Democratic candidate, was triumphantly elected to his second term. Weaver, the Populist, got over one million votes.

542. The panic of 1893. In 1893 a financial panic swept the country. This was due to many causes. Men had been risking their money in buying the shares of newly formed companies, and the railroads had been borrowing great sums of money. Americans were sending much gold out of the country to pay for imports, and little gold was being brought to the treasury. People began to fear that the government paper money was not good and always asked to be paid in gold. Business men felt uneasy and began to call for the money owed to them.

A railroad failed and then some trusts; banks and factories closed, and thousands of workers found themselves without employment. This panic caused great harm, especially among farmers. Wages were cut, and many persons, being out of work, lost their homes. Discontent and suffering grew on all sides. But by 1895 prosperity began returning.

- 543. The Wilson Bill. Cleveland wanted a moderate reduction of tariff. A bill, known as the Wilson Bill, was drawn up. It reduced the tariff and put sugar on the free list. The Democratic senators from Louisiana opposed free sugar and fought the bill. At last Congress agreed to a tariff on sugar, and the bill went to the President. He refused to sign it, saying Congress had broken faith with the people. The bill became a law without his signature. It did not produce enough revenue, and the government had to go in debt.
- **544.** Income tax. The wages of the worker and the profits of the business man are income. During the Civil War, when Congress was desperately trying to find

money to carry on the war, it laid a tax on all incomes of over \$800 a year. This tax was dropped after the war,

In 1893, as we have seen, the Democrats passed the Wilson Tariff Bill. It was expected that this law would reduce the revenue by about \$50,000,000, and in order to make up for this loss, an income tax was provided. It called for a tax of 2 per cent on all incomes of over \$4,000 a year. Its defenders said that the rich largely escaped taxation and that this law would be a means of reducing the big fortunes. The question of the constitutionality of the law was raised, and two years later the Supreme Court declared the law unconstitutional, that is, held that it was no law.

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PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. Suppose you are living in New York in 1873. Write a letter describing scenes on Wall Street when the panic came. 2. Imagine yourself a senator from Louisiana in 1893. Write to a home newspaper explaining your stand on the Wilson Bill.

CHAPTER XXII

ECONOMIC QUESTIONS IN POLITICS

MONEY AND PRICES

- 545. Falling prices. From 1873 to 1897 we' lived in a time when the prices of things were constantly going down. Many reasons were given for this. Some said it was due to men risking their money trying to get rich quickly, some to the tariff, and some believed it was due to the money situation. Whatever was the truth, the farmers felt that they were being badly hurt by the falling prices.
- 546. Act of 1873. Gold and silver coins had always been issued by our government to serve as money, but by the time of the Civil War, silver had almost dropped from circulation. After the war we used mainly greenbacks. In 1873 Congress simply dropped the silver dollar from the list of coins. Nobody paid much attention to this at the time, but later, when prices began to fall and hard times came, many people began to lay the blame on the Act of 1873. 182
- 547. Demand to remonetize silver. Those who held this view said the reason prices were falling was that the country did not have enough money. They thought that prices would rise if more money were put in circulation. In this way came on the demand that the government should begin coining silver dollars. The cry for more money came largely from the farmers of the West. The silver-mine owners of the West, also, were determined that silver should be brought back. They had seen the value of the silver in the silver dollar

fall from one dollar in 1873 to fifty cents in 1895, and they demanded that the value of silver be raised.

548. The government buys silver. The agitation of the farmers and silver-miners got results as early as 1878. Congress passed the Bland-Allison Act ordering the government to buy from two million to four million dollars worth of silver every month and coin it into dollars. Still prices fell. Then in 1890 the Republicans tried to please the farmers and silver men by repealing the Bland-Allison Act and putting in its place the Sherman Silver Purchase Act. This law required the government to buy 4,500,000 ounces of silver every month. Still the price of silver and general prices went down.

549. Repeal of the Sherman Act. When the panic of 1893 hit the country, President Cleveland decided that the government should stop buying silver. It now had on hand a store big enough to coin 568,260,982 silver dollars. But the people wanted the gold that the silver had driven out of circulation.

The government was supposed to keep a gold supply of \$100,000,000 to back up all the other forms of money, but the supply fell to \$95,000,000 in 1893. So President Cleveland called a special session of Congress and forced it to repeal the Sherman Act and quit buying silver. The farmers and silver men of the West were furious, but Cleveland held sternly to what he thought was right. 183

550. Discovery of gold in Alaska. Some gold had been mined in Alaska ever since 1880, but in 1896 the great Klondike field on the Yukon was opened. Americans had to cross land claimed by Canada to reach the Klondike. This led to a dispute over the boundary between Canada and Alaska which was settled by

arbitration (§593). The next year gold was discovered at Cape Nome. Soon other fields were found. Men were already leaving all parts of the country in a rush to the land of gold. Hundreds died of hardship and privation, but the rest pressed on over the dreary mountain trails. Some "struck it rich," but the larger number failed to find the fortunes they sought. Alaska has proved to be a storehouse of riches. From 1880 to 1918 the value of the gold alone taken from that country amounted to \$301,000,000.185

WORLD'S FAIRS

551. The Centennial (1878). The Columbian Exposition (1893). At Philadelphia was held the Centennial Exposition to celebrate the one hundredth anniversary of the Declaration of American Independence.

In 1890 Congress decided that a great world's fair should be held in Chicago to celebrate the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America. The country



THE MANUFACTURES BUILDING AT THE WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION

could not get ready by 1892, so the fair was held one year later. The fair showed the great progress made in

industry, agriculture, art, and other pursuits in the last four hundred years.



THE EDUCATIONAL BUILDING AT THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE EXPOSITION

Leading men from all over the world came to hold meetings, to discuss important questions like medicine, surgery, temperance, music, education, and religion. They told about progress in their own countries, and got acquainted. They found out that the nations are much alike and have about the same problems. Meetings like this should often be held. It would help to do away with war and would show real progress. 186

Among other great expositions held in later years were the Pan-American Exposition at Buffalo (1901), the Louisiana Purchase Exposition at St. Louis (1904), the Lewis and Clark Exposition at Portland, Oregon (1905), the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition at Seattle (1909), and the Panama-Pacific Exposition at San Francisco (1915).

552. The campaign of 1896. The Democrats had divided on the question of silver. The western wing got

control of the party in 1896 and nominated William Jennings Bryan of Nebraska for president. Mr. Bryan was a fine speaker who favored the government coining all the silver that could be brought to it. He wanted it to stamp 371 fgrains of silver as a dollar, although the silver was worth only fifty cents in the world's markets. He believed that both gold and silver money would be used if the government did this. This was the "free silver," "bimetallism," or "16 to 1" plan. Many eastern Democrats refused to follow Mr. Bryan and were known as "gold Democrats." The Republicans opposed the Bryan plan and talked about tariff and prosperity. Their candidate, William McKinley of Ohio, was elected.

553. The Dingley Tariff. The Republicans now passed the Dingley Tariff Law (1897). This made the tariff some-



WILLIAM J. BRYAN

what higher than the Wilson Bill did (§543). This new law put a large amount of money into the treasury and was not disturbed for twelve years.

554. The election of 1900. The Democrats raised the cry of "imperialism" in the campaign of 1900. By this they meant that extending American power to Cuba, Porto Rico, the Philippines, and Hawaii, as the result of the war with Spain, was all wrong. They said it was a bad thing

to be conquering and ruling peoples and lands that wanted to be independent. The Republicans said that

these lands came to us as a result of the war, that we wanted to rule them for their own good and not selfishly.

and that some other nation would surely seize them if we let them go. Further, the Republicans said that these people were not ready for self-government but that the United States would train them. The Democrats also demanded free silver and nominated Mr. Bryan. But President McKinley, with Theodore Roosevelt as his vice-president. easily defeated him.

555. The end of "free silver." Gold was discovered in South Africa in 1886 and in Alaska ten



WILLIAM MCKINLEY

years later. These two countries poured a big supply of the yellow metal into the markets of the world in the next few years. 188

556. The Gold Standard Law. By the Gold Standard Act of 1900 the gold dollar, containing 23.22 grains of pure gold, was made the legal money standard of the United States. All other kinds of money, and there are nine of them, can be directly or indirectly changed for gold. Gold is the prop underneath them all. This was a victory for the gold standard men and showed there was no chance for silver as money.

ROOSEVELT IN OFFICE

557. Roosevelt's two terms (1901-9). At the beginning of his second term President McKinley was killed by an assassin. His place was taken by Theodore Roosevelt of New York, the vice-president. Roosevelt was already well known. 159 He had been in politics for years and had earned a reputation for courage and honesty. As head of the Civil Service Commission under Harrison he did not fear to oppose the big politicians when they tried to violate the Civil Service Law (\$532). Afterward he became police commissioner of New York City, assistant secretary of the navy, governor of New York, and then vice-president. Few men understood Americans as Theodore Roosevelt did, and only Washington, Jackson, and Lincoln have enjoyed such popularity. His hatred of fraud, his unquestioned courage, and his pure patriotism give him a high place among great Americans.



THEODORE ROOSEVELT

Roosevelt was never much interested in the tariff, but he was quick to catch the meaning of the trusts or "big business." He believed that they should be put under government control, not because they were big, but because in many cases big companies became monopolies and oppressed the people (§527). He wanted to make big business "be good."

558. Roosevelt the peacemaker. In 1903 and 1904 Russia and Japan were at war with each other over territory in China. Russia had seized Manchuria, and Japan held

Korea, but they got to quarreling, and a bloody war followed. 190 President Roosevelt, after the Japanese had defeated Russia in several battles, decided that the time for peace had come. He urged both sides to send representatives to the United States where they could hold a conference and make peace. They agreed, and the meetings were held at Portsmouth, New Hampshire. President Roosevelt helped all he could, and finally a treaty was signed. This was a great triumph for the President; it showed he was a true friend of peace. [91]

559. Roosevelt's reëlection (1904). The Democrats nominated Alton B. Parker of New York. Roosevelt won a smashing victory, carrying every state in the North and West, and Missouri in the South. During his second term he continued his fight against the trusts and insisted that Congress should strengthen its control over the railroads. His hard-hitting attacks on the trusts, the railroads, and the political bosses won for him many bitter enemies in his own party and out of it. But he was a splendid fighter and was always on the side of the people. He was a tremendous power for reform.

560. The fleet goes around the world. Down to 1907 the American fleet had stayed on the Atlantic side of the continent. On account of the growth of our interests in the Pacific (§§588–592) Roosevelt declared that "the Pacific was as much our home waters as the Atlantic." He wished Americans, and other peoples as well, to know that "our fleet could and would pass at will from one to the other of the two great oceans. So in the summer of 1907 he ordered the fleet to be prepared for the voyage.

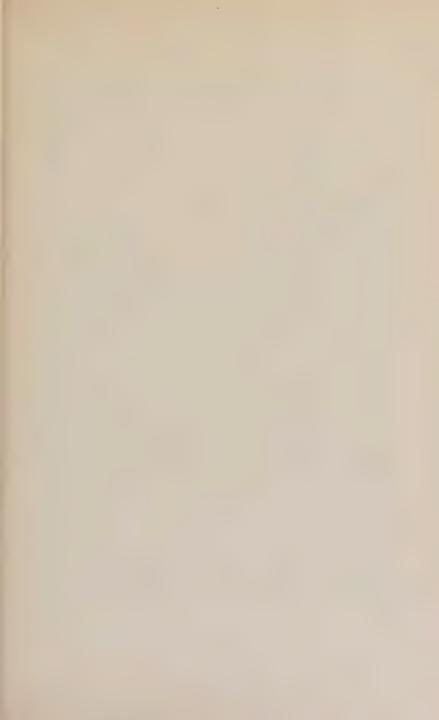
There were sixteen great battleships and a fleet of torpedo boats. They set out in November, 1907, from Hampton Roads. Amid the cheers of boats full of people, the waving of flags, and the firing of cannon the fleet signaled good-bye.

Some naval experts said that the ships would break down. But instead they safely passed the Straits of Magellan and soon arrived at San Francisco. Then leaving the little torpedo boats behind, they struck out on the broad Pacific ¹⁹² for New Zealand and Australia, the Philippines, China, Japan, and home by way of the Mediterranean.

On Washington's birthday, February 22, 1909, sixteen months after leaving Hampton Roads, the fleet came steaming into the same harbor, and Roosevelt was there to greet it. The fleet had proved that it could go around the world. Everywhere it had been received in a friendly fashion and the men had been cheered and feasted. Everywhere the fine discipline of the sailors and the splendid quality of the ships had left greater respect for the United States. Roosevelt afterward said that sending the fleet around the world was the greatest service he performed for peace between the nations.

CONSERVATION OF NATURAL RESOURCES

- 561. A rich country. America is the richest country in the world. This is due to its rich natural resources and to its climate. In this climate people can work hard, and the natural resources are here to reward their effort. It is estimated that in 1918 the total national wealth of the United States amounted to \$228,000,000,000. This does not mean that this is the actual amount of money in the country, but rather that it is the value of such things as farms, factories, railroads, mines, forests, and oil wells.
- 562. What natural resources are. Natural resources are land, forests, fisheries, minerals such as coal, oil, and





A REFORESTED AREA OF NORWAY SPRUCE AND WHITE PINE, PLANTED TWENTY-FOUR YEARS AGO

precious metals, and water power. The supply scemed unlimited, and for a long time nobody thought of using these resources carefully so they would not be used up. But President Roosevelt saw we were making a 'great mistake. He knew that Europeans thought us the most wasteful people in the world. He knew lumbermen went through the forests carelessly cutting down trees and not caring if the young trees were destroyed. He knew that we were using twice as much timber as we were growing and that there was great destruction by forest fires. He could see the end of the forests only a few years away.

563. Saving the lands for the people. Roosevelt felt, too, that it was wrong to let the coal, oil, and water power sites of our public lands pass into the hands of corporations; they would use them up quickly for profit. He believed that these lands should be saved for the people. Acting under an old law, he withdrew from settlement about 150,000,000 acres and created a large number of forest reserves. He thus saved the forests from destruction. These forest reserves are mostly in the West. Some people objected to Roosevelt's policy, saying it kept people out of those regions, but he held to his plan.

President Taft also was a friend of conservation, and Congress, by his advice, passed nine conservation laws (1910). Two of these laws provided for leasing coal, phosphate, oil, and natural gas lands. The idea was not to prevent the use of these resources, but by keeping them under government control to make sure there was no waste.

564. The Forestry Service. The Forestry Service, a branch of the Department of Agriculture, looks after our forests. Agents of the service have built roads through

the forests and have turned some of the forests into national parks. Rangers are always on the watch to



THE ROOSEVELT DAM ACROSS SALT RIVER

check forest fires. These fires destroy much timber each year. In 1919, 1,400,000 acres of forest land were burned over in Montana and Idaho alone. 194

565. Reclaiming waste lands. Fifty years ago settlers in the West wrote their friends "back home" of the country through which they had passed. They told of the rolling plains without a tree as far as the eye could see. They described the Indians and the immense herds of buffalo that sometimes blocked the trains as they crossed the tracks. They spoke of land near the mountains covered with sagebrush and cactus. They told how the dusty wagon-trains had to travel from one water-hole to another and how the scarcity of water was the curse of the land.

Later settlers, seeing what the Mormons in Utah had done by irrigating the land, began to build little irrigating systems leading from the rivers out on to the land.

Wherever they brought the life-giving water to the land, Nature repaid them with bountiful harvests. Then they set about irrigating the dry lands in earnest. Dams were built, pumping stations set up, and ditches dug. Private companies, counties, states, and at last the nation took up the work. Today all along the Rockies, from north to south, prosperous and happy farmers are growing grain and tending orchards of apples and oranges where a few years ago sagebrush and the wolf ruled undisturbed. 195

566. Election of 1908. For a third time the Democrats nominated Bryan. Roosevelt by his enormous influence easily secured the nomination of his friend William H. Taft. The Socialists nominated Eugene V. Debs.

Roosevelt's backing gave Taft a great advantage. He was elected by a large majority.

THE PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT

567. Tariff revision (1909–13). The Republican platform of 1908 favored revising the tariff. Congress took up this matter at once, and the result was the Payne-Aldrich Act. People had expected the tariff rates to be lowered, but when the bill was published they saw that this had not been done. Taft signed the bill (§570). 196

568. Postal savings banks.



WILLIAM HOWARD LAFT

Postal savings banks have been in use in Europe for a long time. But not until 1910 were they established in

this country. Friends of the plan argued that it would promote thrift, as many people would save money if they



THE PARCEL POST SECTION OF A LARGE CITY POST OFFICE

could deposit it with the government and get interest for it. This proved to be true. By 1918 the postal savings deposits exceeded \$167,000,000. The government pays 2 per cent interest on deposits. Anyone can open an account at his post office by depositing one dollar.

569. Parcel post. Later the post office took up another task, the carrying of packages too large to go through the mail. To be sure, several express companies were making a business of handling such packages, but the people believed they charged too much. The express companies opposed the bill introduced in Congress providing for the post office to take up this work. They said they would be ruined if the bill was passed. But Congress passed the law (1912), and people now wonder how they ever got along without the parcel post.

570. The "progressive movement." During the twenty years before the election of President Taft there had been a steadily growing and widespread feeling among the people against "big business." They felt that the "special interests" had too much to say about the way the government was run. This feeling was very strong in the West, but it was shared by men of all parties in all parts of the country. They said that in the nominating conventions, in the state legislatures, and even in the halls of Congress, the tracks of the "special interests" could be seen. On the other hand, measures for the common good could hardly get a hearing. Out of this arose a demand for direct legislation—the initiative, referendum, and recall—and for more thorough regulation of "big business."

President Roosevelt, the people's champion in the fight with the "interests," had backed Mr. Taft when Taft ran for the presidency, and on the strength of this backing Taft was elected. 197 Therefore when Taft signed the Payne-Aldrich Bill, opposed by the "progressive" members of Congress, they fell out with the President. They said he was not true to Roosevelt's ideas. Senator LaFollette became the leader of the "progressives." He tried to secure the Republican nomination for the presidency. The eastern "progressives," regarding him as too extreme in his political views, threw their strength to Roosevelt, and LaFollette fell into the background.

571. The Republican convention (1912). To the nominating convention at Chicago many states sent two sets of men, one to vote for Taft, the other for Roosevelt. The convention machinery was in the hands of Taft's friends, the "regulars," who seated the Taft men and nominated Taft. 198 The Roosevelt men withdrew from

the convention and founded a new party, the Progressive party. In August they met at Chicago and nominated Roosevelt for president. In their platform they declared for the initiative and referendum, woman suffrage, and popular election of United States senators.

572. The Democratic convention. At Baltimore, where the Democratic convention met, there was the same sort of fight. William Jennings Bryan was the leader of the progressive element and was powerful enough to break down the "regulars" and bring about the nomination of Woodrow Wilson, governor of New Jersey. The platform was progressive. The result of the election was never in doubt. Taft carried only two states, Roosevelt five, and Wilson all the others.

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References for pupils: Hagedorn, Boy's Life of Roosevelt; Roosevelt, Theodore Roosevelt's Letters to His Children; Olin, American Irrigation Farming; Dorrance, The Story of the Forest; Price, The Land

We Live In; James, Readings in American History. 101.

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PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. You are living on a Kansas wheat farm in the nineties. Write a letter to your cousin in Ohio telling him why you want more silver money made. 2. Topic, "A day at the Columbian Exposition." 3. You are living in a town in western Montana. Topic, "Why I am against forest reserves." 4. Imagine yourself a Roosevelt delegate to the national Republican convention in 1912. Write an account of your experiences to your local newspaper.

CHAPTER XXIII

OUR NEW POSITION IN THE WORLD

THE WAR WITH SPAIN

573. Cuba rebels. Of all Spain's vast empire in the New World only Cuba and Porto Rico remained under Spanish rule in 1850. Spanish government in these colonies was so corrupt, cruel, and unfair that discontent was always at the boiling point. In 1868 a rebellion broke out in Cuba which continued for ten years. It was a



PORTO RICO AND CUBA

failure. A second revolt blazed up in 1895. Both sides showed the greatest cruelty. Gomez, the Cuban leader,

organized bands of Cubans who caught small groups of Spanish soldiers and slaughtered them without mercy.



HOW THE CUBANS FOUGHT

Weyler, the Spanish general, burned villages and gathered the women and children into a few great camps so they could not feed the rebels. These camps were places of misery and of death.

starvation carrying off these people by thousands.

574. America's interest in the struggle. Americans naturally felt indignant at this awful state of affairs at their front door. The Cubans seemed to them an oppressed people struggling bravely for the freedom which rightly belonged to them. Then, too, Americans owning plantations and sugar mills in the island saw their property destroyed and their business ruined. Congress decided to recognize the Cubans as belligerents, but Cleveland clung to his policy of neutrality. The new president, William McKinley, was a lover of peace. He opposed war with Spain, which many people were now demanding. Instead, he sent a strong protest to Spain about the bad conditions in Cuba.200

575. The destruction of the "Maine." The Spanish party in Cuba was so bitter against Americans that our government sent the battleship "Maine" to Havana to protect the Americans living there. On the night of





February 15, 1898, a terrific explosion tore a great hole in the side of the "Maine." She sank, carrying down 260 men. Americans were stunned at the news. If Spaniards had done this deed, and Americans believed they had, it meant war.²⁰¹ The Spanish government declared it knew nothing of the matter, but Americans would not listen; the war spirit swept the land.²⁰²

576. The declaration of war. Further correspondence with Spain bringing only promises of reform in Cuba, President McKinley, April 11, 1898, sent a war message to Congress. Eight days later Congress passed resolutions demanding independence for Cuba. The president was given power to use the army and navy in bringing this about. Congress also solemnly declared that the United States would withdraw from Cuba as soon as a firm government was established.

577. Dewey at Manila. The war began with a great naval victory. Commodore George Dewey with his fleet was at Hongkong, China. He at once started for Manila to capture or destroy the Spanish fleet known to be there.



THE BATTLE OF MANILA BAY

On the morning of May 1, Dewey's six ships attacked the Spanish fleet, destroyed it, and silenced the batteries on

shore.²⁰³ It was a splendid victory. Three months later an American army under General Merritt arrived from the United States and seized the city of Manila. We now held the Philippines.

578. The war in Cuba. While Dewey and Merritt were winning the Philippines, the war in Cuba was starting. An army was quickly built up. A regiment of volunteer cavalry made up of cowboys, miners, lumbermen, Indians, and college athletes attracted special attention. It was called the "Rough Riders." Leonard Wood was its colonel, 204 and Theodore Roosevelt its lieutenant-colonel. About the middle of June an army of 16,500



CHARGE OF THE ROUGH RIDERS AT SAN JUAN

men started for Cuba. Two battles were won, El Caney and San Juan. The Americans then prepared to storm Santiago. But the Spanish general saw there was no hope of holding out. On July 17 he surrendered the city and with it, most of eastern Cuba.

Four days later General Miles invaded Porto Rico. The island was rapidly passing into his hands when news of peace proposals came on August 12.

579. Work of the navy. When the war began the Spanish admiral, Cervera, sailed from the Cape Verde Islands for Cuba. Our ships were on the watch for him,



THE BATTLE OF SANTIAGO

but he slipped past them into the harbor of Santiago. The American fleet tried to bottle him up by sinking an old ship, the "Merrimac," across the mouth of the harbor. The attempt failed, and the six men who made it and their commander, Lieutenant Hobson, were captured by the Spaniards.

On the morning of July 3 the Spanish fleet darted out of the harbor. The admiral's flagship led. At once the Americans opened fire, and a running fight took place along the coast of Cuba. One after another, the Spanish vessels went down or ran ashore. In four hours the Spanish fleet was completely destroyed and Admiral Cervera and 1,700 men were prisoners.205 Spain was wiped from the sea.

580. The peace treaty. Representatives of the United States and Spain met at Paris and made a treaty. Under this treaty it was agreed: (1) that Cuba should be free;

(2) that Porto Rico should be ceded to the United States;

(3) that the Philippines and the island of Guam should



THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

go to the United States; (4) that the United States should pay Spain \$20,000,000.

When Congress at the beginning of the war, declared that the United States would withdraw from Cuba as soon as a firm government was established, the people of Europe only laughed. They did not believe we would do it. But see what happened.

When the Spanish army left the country, American

engineers went into the island and wiped out yellow fever by cleaning up all places where the mosquito breeds. Our government started modern schools and helped the Cubans to found their own republic. Then our soldiers came home, and Cuba was ready to go ahead as a free country (1902).

Congress had adopted the Platt Amendment. Under it (1) the United States will see that no foreign power ever

gets control of the island. (2) It will see that order, independence, and republican government are maintained on it. (3) It will supervise Cuban finances. (4) Cuba will continue sanitary reforms. (5) The United States is to have the Isle of Pines and certain land in Cuba for a naval station.

In 1906 the Cubans seemed about to start a civil war. To maintain order the United States took charge of the country, administered its affairs for three years, then withdrew. Since that time conditions in the island have been orderly. Uncle Sam really has been a big brother to Cuba.

582. Results of the war. Several important results grew out of the war with Spain: (1) It showed that all sections of the United States would stand together against a foreign foe. We are a united nation in spite of the memories of the Civil War. (2) It forced the United States to become a world power. Our time of isolation was gone. (3) It raised the issue of colonial power. Were we to start a policy of taking and holding foreign territory against the will of the people? (4) It led to a bigger army and navy. (5) It opened the way to an expansion of world trade.

THE PANAMA CANAL

583. Need for a canal. We have seen how difficult it was for people from the East to get to California when gold was discovered (§423). This caused a demand for a railroad and a canal across the Isthmus. A company was organized, and the Panama railroad was built.²⁰⁶ But as the west coast gained in population and wealth, American farmers and manufacturers wanted to ship goods across the country. They objected to the high

freight charges of the railroads. They thought a canal across the Isthmus would help them, for it is a well-known fact that bulky goods can be shipped much more cheaply by water than by rail.

- 584. The French effort. In 1869 a French engineer, De Lesseps, completed the Suez Canal. It was a great success, and De Lesseps began to plan a canal across the Isthmus of Panama. He organized a company and started to work. But yellow fever, as well as other diseases, killed the workmen by thousands. Bad management also helped ruin the undertaking. After spending about \$300,000,000 he gave up the task (1889).
- 585. Uncle Sam takes hold. During the war with Spain our largest battleship, the "Oregon," had to make a trip all the way round South America from San Francisco to Cuba in order to reach the scene of fighting. This trip took sixty-six days and more than ever Americans wished for a canal through the Isthmus. After the war our interests in the Pacific made it clear that something



must be done. But England stood in the way. Because of her world commerce she wanted a voice in the canal

question, so in 1901 a treaty, called the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, was signed. It agreed that the United States



THE REPUBLIC OF PANAMA

should build the canal and that it should be open to the ships of all nations on equal terms.

Congress bought out the French company for \$40,000,000 and tried to buy a strip of land across the Isthmus of Panama from Colombia. The government of Colombia was offered \$10,000,000 in cash and \$250,000 annually, but it wanted more. The matter dragged. Then word came that the people of Panama had rebelled against Colombia and had established an independent country—the Republic of Panama.

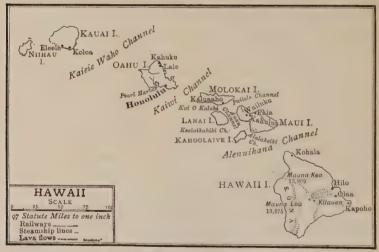
President Roosevelt immediately recognized the new republic²⁰⁷ and in a few days made a treaty with it by which we got a strip of land ten miles wide across the Isthmus. The amount paid was the same as we had offered Colombia.

586. Building the canal. The first thing was to clean up this region so our men would not get yellow fever

(\\$584). Since this disease is carried by the mosquito, it was necessary to screen the houses and to drain the water from holes and swamps where the mosquito breeds. The towns were made clean and kept clean. The disease was conquered. Then the work went ahead, and the first ship passed through the canal in 1914.

587. The canal. The canal is 49 miles long and from 300 to 1,000 feet wide. There are 12 locks. It cost \$375,000,000 to build it, but it is already earning more than the cost of its upkeep. In 1919, 2,107 ships passed through the canal.

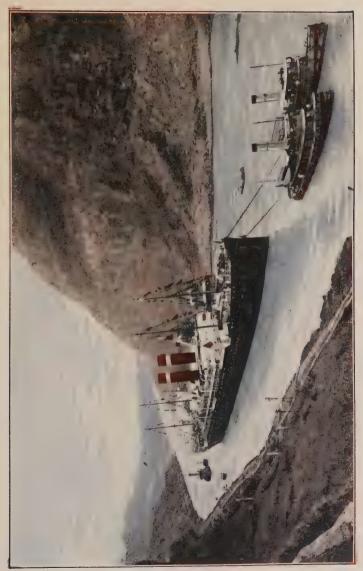
It is easily seen that the Panama canal is of great importance in the trade between our east and west coasts and with the coast cities of South America.²⁰⁸



THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS

AMERICA IN THE FAR EAST

588. The Hawaiian Islands. Americans early settled in Hawaii. They were missionaries, business men,



A STEAMER PASSING THROUGH GAILLARD CUT, PANAMA CANAL



traders, and cattle men. They developed great sugar plantations. In 1893 some Americans and natives started a revolution against the native queen. The revolutionists got the upper hand and asked the United States to annex the islands. President Harrison was willing, but the Senate failed to approve the act. Later the offer was renewed, but President Cleveland, believing the queen had been badly treated and that it would be wrong to take the islands, opposed the offer. But in 1898, after the Spanish war, they were annexed. The islands were on the highway to the Philippines.

589. Samoa. Tutuila. Far out in the Pacific, two-thirds of the way from San Francisco to Australia, lie the Samoan Islands. Although not very valuable, they are useful as coaling stations. As early as 1878 we secured a coaling station there and promised to protect the islands from other powers. Later Germany and Great Britain also secured interests in the islands.

In 1886 a civil war between native chiefs and the high-handed actions of the German consul almost brought on war between the powers. Great Britain, Germany, and the United States all had warships there, but a terrible storm destroyed the German and American ships and all the British except one. This gave time for sober thought. It was finally agreed (1900) that the United States should take over the island of Tutuila with Pago-Pago, its harbor, and Germany the rest of the islands, which now belong to New Zealand. Great Britain withdrew altogether.

590. China (1900). The Chinese along the coast felt their country was being torn to pieces by the great powers of Europe and by Japan. These nations were seizing Chinese territory and interfering in Chinese affairs. The Chinese government was too weak to resist. Then the

"Boxers," a band of rebels opposed to foreigners, killed the German ambassador and other foreigners in Pekin.²¹⁰ The United States joined the other powers in sending troops to rescue the besieged people. The powers then demanded pay for their trouble. There was great danger that China would be divided among the powers and cease to exist as a nation. Secretary Hay opposed this. He wanted to keep China a country where all nations could trade freely. He called this the "open-door" policy. The powers agreed to this plan, and China was saved.

The United States received \$24,000,000 from China when a settlement of the "boxer" trouble was made. This was \$13,000,000 more than our losses, so we gave this sum back to her as an act of friendship. China decided to use this money in sending her young men and women to the colleges and universities of the United States. By the "open-door" policy we won the position of



China's best friend. 591. The question of the Philippines. The war with Spain gave us the Philippines. The Filipinos wanted independence, but they were not ready for it. Only a few were educated. Some. indeed, were wild, living in little bands

or warring tribes under their own leaders. One of their leaders, Aguinaldo, resisted the Americans for about two years. When he was captured, the trouble ended.

592. Government of the Philippines. America slowly worked out a plan of government. First, it was made clear that the people must settle down and be orderly. The American army saw to that. Then a system of free schools was established. Many hundreds of good American teachers went to the islands to educate the natives. Good roads and bridges have been built, and better methods of agriculture are being taught. Sanitation is looked after, and libraries have been founded.

The president appoints a governor, and the natives elect the legislature. This does not suit some of the natives, as they wish entire independence. In 1916 Congress declared that the country would be given its independence just as soon as the people show that they are ready for it. The Filipinos and the Porto Ricans are being trained by the United States for self-government.



THE ALASKA PURCHASE OF 1867

INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION

593. The seal fisheries arbitration (1893). When we bought Alaska in 1867 we took over her claim to the

scal fisheries in Bering Sea. Great Britain opposed this claim, saying we could not control the fishing for more



than three miles from shore. Our navy arrested the masters and crews of several British vessels hunting seals in this region, and the dispute grew bitter. Then the

two nations decided to arbitrate the matter. The decision required the United States to pay damages and denied her claim to control of the sea. We accepted the decision.²¹²

594. The Alaskan boundary arbitration (1896). Soon another question arose. The boundary between Alaska and Canada was not clearly defined, and for some years nobody cared. But with the discovery of gold in the Yukon Valley (1896) disputes arose. In this matter both sides wanted arbitration. Since Great Britain had charge of Canada's foreign relations, our dealings were with her. But there were two Canadians on the arbitration commission. The Americans won the decision, and Canada accepted the new line (see map).

595. The Venezuela arbitration (1899). Venezuela and Great Britain disputed about the boundary between Venezuela and British Guiana. This dispute began in 1841 when a line was run that gave Guiana 50,000 square miles of land claimed by Venezuela. The matter came up several times, but no settlement was reached. Venezuela appealed to the United States for justice in 1895. President Cleveland demanded the question be submitted to arbitration. He said the Monroe Doctrine meant we would not allow a state like Venezuela to be oppressed by a European power. Lord Salisbury, prime minister of England, opposed arbitration and denied that the Monroe Doctrine covered the case.

President Cleveland then sent a message to Congress which plainly stated that the United States would resist any attempt by Great Britain to seize Venezuelan land. He suggested the appointment of a commission to study the question and tell us where the line should be. Congress immediately provided for the commission.

Englishmen could hardly believe the news when they heard there was danger of war. Public sentiment quickly turned against Salisbury, who finally yielded to the demand that the dispute be arbitrated. The court of arbitration, which met at Paris (1899), decided England was entitled to about five-sixths of what she claimed. The best feature of this case was avoiding war by arbitration.

596. The Newfoundland fisheries arbitration (1910). For a hundred years there had been disputes over the fishing grounds off the coast of Newfoundland (§160). Many unsuccessful attempts had been made to reach a settlement. In 1910 the United States and Great Britain referred the question to the Hague Tribunal. The decision gave Great Britain the right to make reasonable rules for fishing on the Banks, but she was required to let the American fishermen go on shore to dry their fish and to buy bait and supplies.

What a fine thing it is that these two great nations, the United States and Great Britain, have formed a habit of settling their differences by arbitration instead of war! If other nations were as willing to do this, war would soon be no more.

597. The Hague meetings. In 1899 the Czar of Russia called a peace meeting of the nations at The Hague in Holland. For years all great nations had been building big navies and adding to their armies. Each feared it would be caught unprepared when war came. This system piled up taxes on the people, and almost everybody was tired of it. And so twenty-seven countries, among them the United States, sent delegates to the conference. They did not succeed in putting an end to war, but some rules were adopted for making war less terrible. A permanent court of arbitration was created.

Nations were invited to bring their disputes to it for settlement. The United States was the first nation to submit a case to this court for arbitration.



THE CARNEGIE PEACE PALACE AT THE HAGUE

Many friends of peace felt that the meeting of 1899 only made a start toward getting rid of war. President Roosevelt was one of these. He urged the Czar to call another meeting. This was done in 1907. Forty-four countries sent representatives. Much more was done at the second Hague Conference than at the first. Definite rules were made on such subjects as arbitration, the rights of neutrals, and the way in which war is to be carried on. There were thirteen of these rules, or "conventions," as they were called. Most of them were accepted by the leading nations of the world.

The two Hague meetings did not put an end to war as had been hoped. The nations of Europe were so filled with hatred and suspicion of one another that their agreements amounted to little. Many people came to believe we could not get rid of war until some way was found for compelling nations to arbitrate questions in dispute.

598. Progress at home. Three notable attempts have been made in recent years to put the United States on a general arbitration basis. Roosevelt and Taft made efforts in this direction without much success, but when Wilson took office he made peace treaties with thirty nations. William Jennings Bryan, secretary of state at that time, was largely responsible for these treaties. They are called the "wait-a-bit" treaties because the nations agreed they would wait a year after a dispute arose before going to war. This delay gives a chance for study of the question and also for the nations to "cool off." If all nations had followed this rule, the terrible World War would probably have been avoided.

THE NEWER MONROE DOCTRINE

599. Venezuela again in trouble (1902). Citizens of England, Germany, and Italy had loaned money to Venezuela. For several years Venezuela had paid nothing on this debt. Finally these nations sent German and British war vessels to blockade Venezuelan ports and seize the custom houses to collect the debt. The blockade had lasted a year. Then President Roosevelt persuaded Venezuela to submit the question to arbitration and a settlement was soon reached.

600. Santo Domingo. In 1904 Santo Domingo also was in debt to Europe and suffered from revolution. European powers threatened to collect the debt by force. At the request of Santo Domingo Roosevelt took charge of its finances. Since then money matters have been better managed and danger of collection by force has disappeared. Twice under the treaty American troops have been used to put down disorder. The United States also shouldered the same tasks in Haiti for a time.





601. The situation in Mexico. In 1911 a revolution drove President Diaz from the country.²¹³ With Diaz



A DIVISION OF AMERICAN TROOPS IN MEXICO

gone the country entered upon a period of civil war, Madero, Huerta, and Carranza in turn holding the office of president. None could restore order.

Europeans and Americans have invested large sums of money in Mexican mines, ranches, railroads, and oil wells. Many of these properties were ruined by Mexicans. American citizens were carried off by bandits and held for ransom. Others were ruthlessly murdered. Mexican bandits even crossed the border and killed Americans on American soil. A demand arose that the United States send an army into Mexico. Both Presidents Taft and Wilson refused to do this. To do, so they held, would mean war with all its evils. They said Mexico could hardly be held responsible as no real government existed there. This view roused much bitter criticism in and out of Congress. When war threatened, Argentine, Brazil, and Chile brought about an agreement. This was the so-called "A. B. C." intervention.²¹⁴

602. New meaning of the Monroe Doctrine. The settlement of the questions in Santo Domingo, Venezuela, and Mexico proves that a new meaning is being given to

the Monroe Doctrine. It shows that we will not allow armed force to be used against Latin-American states for collecting debts unless they refuse to arbitrate. This seems to mean that we should control the money of such a government when this happens. It also shows that Argentine, Brazil, and Chile are becoming partners with us in sustaining the Monroe Doctrine and keeping the peace between the countries of the Western Hemisphere.

603. The Pan-American Congress. James G. Blaine, secretary of state under Harrison, like Clay, 215 wanted



THE PAN-AMERICAN UNION BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D.C.

the Latin-American states and the United States to become better friends. So in 1889, on invitation of the president, representatives from all these states except Santo Domingo came to Washington to hold a conference. It was the first time men from all these countries had been together in our land. They had no power to make laws, but they discussed a great many questions of common interest and united in making recommendations to

their governments. They agreed that there ought to be free navigation of all American rivers, uniform systems of weights and measures, and an international banking system. This was the first of four such meetings.

604. Pan-American Union. The Pan-American Union was created by the first Pan-American Congress (§603). It is composed of representatives of the Latin-American states living in Washington, and our secretary of state is chairman of its board of directors. Its headquarters are a building in Washington donated by Andrew Carnegie. The purpose of the Union is to keep up friendly feelings and to develop commerce between the member countries.

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PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. Imagine yourself one of Hobson's men. Write an account of "Bottling up the Spaniards at Santiago." 2. Write about "My trip to the Panama Canal." 3. You are a Chinese student in an American university. Write a letter to your sister in China telling of the day's experiences at your university. 4. Your home is on a ranch near the Mexican border and you are visiting a friend in Chicago. You are trying to show him why the United States should send troops into Mexico. Topic, "An experience with Mexican bandits."

CHAPTER XXIV

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

IMMIGRATION

605. Civil War period. During the Civil War the tide of immigration fell to less than a hundred thousand per year, but by 1873 it had again risen to almost a half million. The government treated these people kindly. They were allowed to take up farms in the West. They were also allowed to pay their way over by making contracts in advance with employers. But contract labor produced bad effects and after four years was prohibited.

The great grain-growing states of the Northwest benefited by the immigration of Swedes, Norwegians, and Danes, which began in the sixties and continued for forty years. From 1870 to 1880 over 650,000 arrived. They settled mostly in Minnesota, Nebraska, and the Dakotas, developing comfortable farms, and in every way proving themselves worthy American citizens.

606. Railroads and immigration. The connection of railroads with immigration is very close. As the roads were pushed into the Northwest during the sixties, seventies, and eighties, great regions were opened to settlement. The railroads wanted this country settled and turned into farms as quickly as possible. They wanted to get pay for carrying the produce of the region. They sent agents to Northern Europe to persuade immigrants to come over. The plan was very successful. The rapid development of the Northwest was largely due to the efforts of the railroad companies.

607. The change in immigration. Many of the early immigrants from Northern Europe went to the new West. Others became laborers on the railroads and other building enterprises. A third large group turned to the factories and mines. In 1880 practically one-third of the people in our factories and mines were immigrants.

About 1890 the number of people coming from Northern Europe began to fall off, a growing number coming from Southern and Eastern Europe. During the years 1880–90, half a million Russians, Poles, and Italians, came knocking at our gates. But this was only a beginning. In a little while the stream became a torrent. Many Slavs, as well as Jews, Hungarians, Greeks, Roumanians, and Turks were crowding into our big cities. In one year (1914) immigration reached the astonishing figure of 1,218,000.²¹⁶

608. Why the later immigrants went to the cities. By the end of the nineteenth century the free or cheap land had all been taken up. Anyway, these newcomers did not understand farm life in America. They were used to the village life of Eastern Europe, so they settled in the cities. They found work in factories, foundries, ship-yards, mines, and steel mills. The employers were glad to get them, for they were used to low pay and hard work. While they have contributed greatly to the upbuilding and wealth of the country, their coming to America has given rise to serious problems.

609. The effect upon cities. The various nationalities settled in separate groups in the cities. In a little while every city had its Italian, its Polish, or its Roumanian quarter, and so on. These people built churches, founded newspapers, and started their own stores and banks. Soon political leaders appeared among them, "bosses" who

turned their votes this way or that for their own gain. Soon political parties were struggling with one another to get their votes. This is bad not only for America but also for the foreign citizens. It keeps them in groups and prevents their becoming familiar with American institutions and American ideals.

Our great cities are now largely made up of foreigners. In 1910, 40 per cent of the people in New York City, 35 per cent of those in Chicago, and 29 per cent of those in Cleveland were foreign-born. These percentages have increased steadily.

610. Restrictions. The shifting in immigration from Northern to Southern and Eastern Europe startled our people. A demand arose that immigration be made more difficult. As long as there was a supply of cheap or free land the newcomers could find a place on the soil without harming anyone. But when the tide turned to factory, mill, and mine, the American workman, whose standard of living was different, at once felt that it harmed him. He said the immigrants kept wages down by working for pay that would starve him.

American labor first objected to the Chinese. The feeling in California has long been bitter toward them, not only because of their race, but because they work for such low wages. As a consequence a law was passed (1882) shutting off Chinese immigration for ten years. This has been renewed. Lunatics, anarchists, and persons having contagious diseases are also shut out by law. In 1917 Congress excluded people who cannot read their own language. After the World War the inflow of immigrants was as great as before.

611. Japanese immigration. On the Pacific coast the Japanese question is a live one. The labor unions object

strongly to the presence of the Japanese. They say the Japanese, like the Chinese, work for a low wage and thus drive out American workmen. In 1906 the San Francisco school board ordered all Japanese and Chinese children put in separate schools. The Japanese government immediately protested, and a good deal of bad feeling was stirred up between the two nations. President Roosevelt got the trouble smoothed out, but there is no doubt that California was acting within her rights. Again, in 1913 California passed a law forbidding Japanese to own land in that state. The law still stands, although Japan has protested. The Federal government is in a difficult position. While it makes treaties with foreign nations, it has no power to control the state in such matters. Japan does not want her workmen to come here and has agreed not to let them come. Yet she feels that the United States regards her people as an inferior race and resents any action that applies to them and not to other peoples.

612. Naturalization. When an immigrant wishes to become a citizen of the United States, he must go through certain steps in the courts. He files with the clerk of the court a statement that he wants to be "naturalized." He must have been in the country at least three years before he can do this. In this statement he must give his name, age, and occupation, tell when he arrived in the country, and agree to give up all loyalty to his former ruler and country. He then receives his "first papers." After two years he files a petition asking for full citizenship. He must have two witnesses who have known him and will swear that he has obeyed the laws and is loyal to this country. After another ninety days he is given his "second papers" and becomes a full-fledged citizen.²¹⁷

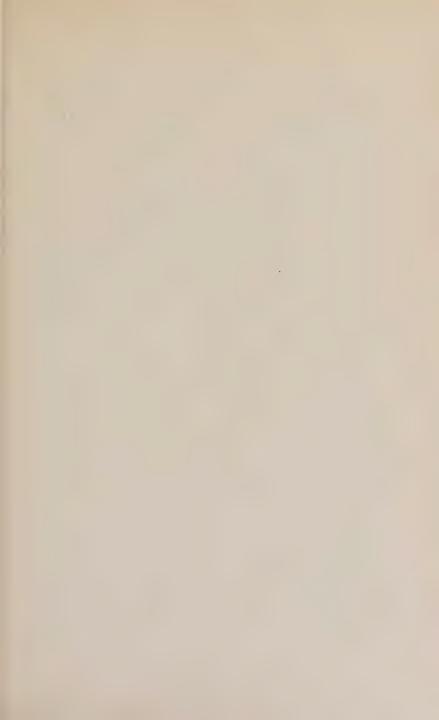
Only people of the white race or of African descent may be naturalized, and anarchists and polygamists are excluded.



TAKING THE OATH OF CITIZENSHIP

613. The immigration problem. America faces a real problem in this immigration question. The early immigrants from Northern Europe knew something of government by representatives of the people and were of the same race as those already here. They easily adjusted themselves to American ideals. It was not so easy for those that followed them. Many of these people were unable to read and write. They knew little of free government and were used to low standards of living. It was hard for them to become Americans. This was not their fault; they wanted to learn, but, crowded together in the big cities and employed as cheap labor, they had little chance to learn the true spirit of America.

614. Americanization. A good deal is being done today for the "Americanizing" of these people. All children of school age must be in school, learning about





American institutions and ideals and learning to love America. In the large cities night schools are being established for the grown-up men and women; here they can learn to read the English language and to think in English. There is an earnest endeavor to make the immigrants feel that America wants them to have a fair chance to earn good wages and to live according to American ways. America believes in the "square deal." But the immigrant must be taught that we have orderly ways of doing things and that violence will not be allowed.

The "old" Americans should set a good example of fair-mindedness and patriotism to "new" Americans. America is not simply a country in which people may get wealth, a sort of boarding-house for all nations. It is a land struggling to show the world that "a government of the people, by the people, and for the people" can be maintained. In this task it has a right to ask the help of every American, "old" or "new."

ORGANIZED LABOR

615. Labor before the Civil War. In the early days of the Republic the rule was for each workman to deal directly with his employer. There were very few unions, and these were found only among skilled workers (§386). The spirit of the times was hostile to unions, and strikes were unlawful. Leaders of strikes were sent to jail. They were declared guilty of plotting. By 1845 these early unions had about died out.

616. Effect of the Civil War. The Civil War caused a great rise in prices. This result follows all wars. Wages did not keep up with prices, and the workers found it harder and harder to live. So again they began to form unions. Three great unions of railway workers and about

fifty other associations were organized. A national organization, the Knights of Labor, was formed which took in all workers without regard to their trades. This was a powerful organization claiming at one time (1886) at least 730,000 members. It organized a number of strikes. These failed, and trouble arose between the skilled and unskilled workers. This order soon lost its power.

617. The American Federation of Labor. The American Federation of Labor took the place of the Knights of Labor. This organization is made up of different trade unions. Each city has its own printers', carpenters', and other unions. These unions are united in state federations. Each city, too, has its central labor union made up of all the unions in the city. The Federation does not include unskilled workers. Above all is the national organization composed of men from the different unions. This order has grown in membership from 200,000 in 1890 to 3,260,000 in 1919. About 10 per cent of the people listed in gainful occupations in the entire country are members. The four great railroad brotherhoods, numbering a quarter of a million men, are not members of the Federation. In counting the number of unionized men in the country they should be added.

618. Collective bargaining. The main thing the Federation of Labor stands for is "collective bargaining." The union chooses men to meet the employers and discuss such questions as hours, wages, and conditions of work. If these men from the union agree with the employers on certain wages and hours, all union men are bound to work on the terms thus fixed. The union men believe they get better wages and shorter hours in this way than they would if each man bargained for himself. Many serious

questions have grown out of the practice of collective bargaining.

619. Organized employers. The growth of labor unions led employers to organize. These men are connected with steel making, coal mining, the making of clothing, and many other things. Many of these associations were united in 1893 into the National Association of Manufacturers. Later the Citizens' Industrial Association of America was formed. Still later came the National Manufacturers' Association. Thus we see that both labor and capital are organized.

620. Strikes. When workers fail to get what they want from their employer, they often quit work in a body. This is a strike. They believe the employer can



be brought to terms in this way because every day the plant is shut down he loses money. To make the strike

a success they try to keep non-union men from taking their places. This leads to trouble and sometimes to violence. When a strike is called at a factory, some union men stay near the factory to warn non-union men or strike-breakers away. This is called "picketing." Sometimes employers close their factories to force the men to come to their terms. This is a "lockout."

Between 1900 and 1910 there were many strikes in the United States. In coal mining (1908–17) each worker lost on an average thirty-eight days a year because of strikes. In 1914 the average loss was sixty-eight days. 218 Some of the costliest strikes in recent years were the great railway strike of 1894, the strike of hard-coal miners of Pennsylvania in 1902, and the strike of the Colorado coal miners in 1914 and 1915.

- 621. The Chicago strike of 1886. The strike of fifty thousand workers in Chicago in 1886 shows how hard it is to keep down violence during strikes. The city held a nest of anarchists who had been driven out of Europe and had come here to spread their doctrines of destruction and murder. Anarchists are opposed to all government and believe in using any kind of violence to destroy it. At a big public meeting held in the Haymarket a bomb was thrown that killed seven policemen and wounded sixty others. Some of the anarchists were caught, and after a trial four were hanged. These anarchists had no connection with the unions. They had taken advantage of the disorder caused by the strike to do their deadly work.
- 622. Arbitration. The strike is industrial war. It always costs the workers and employers great sums of money, but it costs the public still more. This fact has led to a demand that some way besides strikes should be found to settle such disputes. When the hard-coal

strike came on in Pennsylvania in 1902, the people demanded arbitration. This meant that somebody like the president should appoint a board of judges to study the whole question and give a decision as to what the miners should have. The miners were willing, but the owners were not. President Roosevelt said, "No man and no group of men can so exercise their rights as to deprive the nation of the things necessary and vital to the common life." He appointed a board of arbitration, and the owners had to submit their case to it. A decision was given, and the miners went to work.

Many states have boards of arbitration. The Federal government, too, has made several laws providing for settling labor disputes. One of them was the Erdman Arbitration Act to cover strikes on railways. Another was the Newlands Act.²¹⁹ In 1913 the new Department of Labor was created by Congress. The secretary of labor was given power to act as "mediator" in strike troubles.

623. The boycott and the injunction. Sometimes the union asks people to stop buying goods from an employer whose men are on a strike. This is a "boycott." Such an employer is said to be "unfair" to union labor.

An injunction is an order issued by a judge telling somebody that he must not do a certain thing. If he disobeys, the judge will punish him. Labor unions are opposed to the use of injunctions. They say it gives the judge too much power in labor disputes and that it is used to prevent workers from getting their rights. They complain because juries were not used in injunction cases.

624. The Clayton Act. The labor unions for years kept demanding new laws on such subjects as picketing, boycott, and injunction. In 1914 Congress passed the Clayton Anti-Trust Act, which deals with these subjects

as well as with trusts. This law declared that labor unions could not be prosecuted as trusts. Second, it limits the kind of disputes in which injunctions can be used. Third, if a man is arrested for disobeying an injunction, this law gives him the right to call for a jury trial. Fourth, it declares that strikes, picketing, and boycotts do not violate any Federal law (§§620, 623). The Clayton Act was a great victory for the unions.

625. The unions and politics. One might think that the labor unions with their large numbers of members would form a political party and elect their own men to office. Some of the union leaders think this the best thing to do, but the majority of them, led by Mr. Gompers, oppose this. They think it is much better to decide what laws they want and then go to the big political parties and offer them the labor vote if they will promise to enact these laws.

FACTORY ACTS

626. Child labor. Children have worked in factories from the very beginning of the factory system, but many people have always thought it a bad custom (§374).²²⁰ It not only kept the children out of school, but it stunted their growth and took work away from grown-up men and women. The opposition to it got so strong that by 1913 thirty-one states had passed laws against it. Some states have been very slow to protect the children. Congress placed a tax of 10 per cent on goods intended for interstate commerce if they are made in factories where children under fourteen are employed (1919). A Children's Bureau was established in 1912 by act of Congress. It is to look after the welfare of children and has done valuable work. Several states, too, have passed laws

limiting the hours women may work and keeping them out of certain occupations that endanger health.

627. Safety. good ventilation, plenty of light, and other sanitary arrangements in factories. Machinery that is likely to catch the worker and injure him must be covered. The states keep inspectors whose business it is to go among the factories and see that these measures are carried out.



628. Work-

CHILDREN AT WORK IN A COTTON MILL

ingmen's compensation. In spite of all that is done to make workers safe, there is still a shocking number of accidents each year. Men are crushed, crippled, and killed in large numbers.²²¹ In 1917 over 3,000 railway employees were killed and over 156,000 injured.

In the old days when a man got hurt his only hope of getting anything from the employer to help him live and keep his family was to go to law with the employer.

This was too slow and costly a method. Now it is changed. Forty-two states, the territories of Alaska and Hawaii, and Porto Rico all now have Workingmen's Compensation Acts. A half million employees of the Federal government likewise are protected by laws of this kind. These



Courtesy of Armour and Company
THE REST ROOM OF A GREAT MANUFACTURING ESTABLISHMENT

laws say how much the worker's family shall receive if he is killed.²²² By these means the worker can get good hospital care and get back to his work in a short time. If he dies, his family will not have to be broken up. It is much better than the old way.²²³

629. Welfare work. Many employers realize that people will do better work if they are contented. Hence they carry on what is called "welfare work." This takes the form, in part, of a community clubhouse which is free to all the workmen of the company. In the clubhouse are bowling alleys, swimming pools, reading and visiting rooms. Here are bands, dramatic clubs, and debating clubs. Here, too, the young people meet for their dances and social affairs. The company pays visiting nurses to go to the homes of the employees who

are injured or ill. Some companies maintain systems of insurance and pension systems for their workers.

THE TRUSTS

- 630. What trusts are. Before 1880 if a man had a few hundred dollars and wanted to start a factory he formed a partnership with some other man and began business. He met plenty of competition, but the competition came from firms like his own. The product was small, and the profits were small. Later certain shrewd men got the stronger firms to combine. This combination could break down weaker firms and control the industry. A big factory or mill could produce goods more cheaply than a small factory or mill. It could use more labor-saving machinery, buy its raw materials and fuel in big lots, and get lower rates from the railroads for carrying its goods. This was the beginning of "big business."
- 631. Growth of trusts. John D. Rockefeller, of Cleveland, persuaded forty oil-producing concerns to put themselves in the hands of a board of "trustees." The trustees were to run the business. This new company was the Standard Oil Company. It was the first trust. The producers of sugar, whisky, cottonseed oil, rubber goods, and dozens of other articles followed this example. Before 1904 something like three hundred combinations had been formed. In 1904 there were over nineteen hundred companies, each with a capital of over \$1,000,000. By 1909 the number had grown to over three thousand. Hundreds of shoe factories, woolen mills, sugar refineries, and other plants were closed down and their business turned over to the big producers. Thus the number of business firms grew smaller. The biggest business firm in the world, the United States Steel Corporation, had

a capital of \$1,400,000,000, controlled 180 companies, and employed over 200,000 men.

- 632. Combinations of railroads. Before the Civil War railroads were not more than fifty to one hundred miles long. They usually connected neighboring cities. But before the war combination of these lines had started (§307). Men like Cornelius Vanderbilt saw the advantage of connecting different roads into one system. In this way the New York Central, the Pennsylvania, and the Baltimore and Ohio systems were built up. Cities like New York and Chicago, Pittsburgh and St. Louis, were connected by single railroad systems. The Civil War checked the union of roads, but it began again soon after the war. During the eighties and nineties railroad building went on rapidly, and combining kept on There are now about thirteen hundred railroad lines in the country, but most of them are only parts of some great system. It is said that now only five or six systems control all of these lines.224
- 633. What the people thought. As the process of building big business went on, the people became angry. They said a small producer had no chance against the big companies and that the latter used unfair methods. They compelled the railroads to carry their goods at lower rates than were charged the little ones. This was true. Yet while the big companies produced more cheaply, the people got no benefit in the form of lower prices.
- 634. The Sherman Anti-Trust Act. In 1890 Congress passed the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. The object was to prevent these great combinations from getting in their hands all the business in any one line. This would check trade. Harrison, Cleveland, and McKinley did little to enforce this law. But Roosevelt and Taft made a big

fight against the trusts. In only a few cases did the government win. The most important victories were the Standard Oil case and the American Tobacco Company case. The Supreme Court ordered these companies broken up into a number of smaller companies which would compete with one another. But no reduction in price followed. In 1914 Congress made the law stronger (§624).

635. What we have learned. Out of all this discussion and lawmaking two points have become clear. (1) Big business is not necessarily bad because it is big. It seems to be a natural and proper development so long as it keeps within the law and does not become a monopoly. (2) It is also pretty clear that we cannot hope to destroy big business nor to prevent its development. But a way should be found to control it for the benefit of all the people.

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References for pupils: Antin, They Who Knock at Our Gates; Warman, The Story of the Railroad; Hughes, Community Civics; Ashley, The New Civics; Magruder, American Government; James, Readings in American History, chap. xxvii.

PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

I. You have been in the United States a month. You came from Eastern Europe and are writing back home. Topic, "My first month in America." 2. Topic, "How I became a naturalized citizen."

3. Topic, "Why I came to America." 4. You are supposed to belong to a labor union, and you are trying to show a fellow workman why he should join. Topic, "Why I belong to the union." Then give the other man's views in a composition entitled "Why I do not belong to the union." 5. Topic "Why I am against child labor," or "Why I like to work in the factory," or "The adventures of a telegraph messenger boy."

CHAPTER XXV

POLITICAL REFORMS

CHANGES IN GOVERNMENT

- 636. The old way. When a man wanted to be elected to an office he went among the voters of his party and asked them to favor him for office; that is, he tried to secure the nomination. Of course other men in the same party wanted the same office, so some way had to be found to decide which man got the nomination. In the early days the leading politicians and office-holders settled the question of nominations in a meeting of their own called a caucus. But about the time of Andrew Jackson (§358) people got tired of having the candidates picked for them, and they began holding conventions to make nominations. After all parties had made their nominations in this way the election was held. Years later people came to believe these conventions were run by the bosses. They decided to hold nominating elections and choose the candidates themselves.
- 637. Primary elections. When a party holds an election to decide who its candidates shall be, that election is called a primary. During the period 1904–12 almost all the states established the system of holding primaries under state authority. When a voter goes to a primary election, he must make his choice from the members of his own party. The men thus chosen are the candidates of that party for office. Later, at a regular election, the voters choose one man from among the candidates of the different parties for the office.

- 638. Presidential preference primaries. Twenty-one states now give the voters a chance to say whom they desire as candidates for the presidency. This is called the presidential preference primary. But the national nominating conventions are still held.
- 639. Ballot reform. In 1888 a new system of voting was introduced. It was called the "Australian" system and is still in use. Under the old system people crowded around the ballot box and a citizen could not vote without the bystanders knowing for whom he voted. This made bribery easy, as the man who gave the bribe could follow the voter right up to the box and see that he voted as he was paid to do. Then anybody could print ballots and hand them out, and the ballot box was open. This made cheating at the ballot box easy.

Under the Australian system the voter must register or get his name on the list of voters before election day. Then the state prints the ballots with the names of the candidates on them. But, most important, the ballot is secret; a voter may cast his ballot without other people knowing how he votes. Every ballot is handed out by an officer and is numbered. The voter steps into a little booth and marks the names of his choice. Then the ballot is put into the ballot box. Later the ballots are counted.²²⁵

640. The short ballot. There are so many names on a ballot that the voter knows only a few of them personally. This has led to a movement to make the ballot more simple by making it shorter. The idea is to put on the ballot the names of the men running for the most important offices and then leave them to appoint their helpers. This shortens the ballot. Some cities and a few states have made this change.

- 641. Direct legislation. In spite of the effort to have a real democracy in this country, many people have felt that things too often go wrong. Officers sometimes refuse to do what the people want and again they do things that the people do not like. People said that the members of the legislatures obeyed the "bosses" and the "interests" rather than the people who had elected them. For this reason three measures known as the initiative, referendum, and recall were invented and put to work.
- **642.** The initiative. By this law a given number of the voters may propose laws. An election is then held in which the voters of the state, county or city vote for or against the proposed measures. If a majority favor them, they become laws.
- 643. The referendum. In the initiative we have pointed out one way in which a law may be referred to the voters. Another is this—if a legislature passes a law that a certain number of the voters oppose, they can get up a petition and prevent the enforcement of the law until the people can say in an election whether they want it or not. South Dakota, the first state to use this system, adopted it in 1898. Now twenty-two states use the initiative and referendum.
- 644. The recall. The recall is a plan to get officers with whom the people are dissatisfied out of office before the end of their term. Usually, under this law, a certain per cent of the voters sign a petition asking for the recall of an officer; he must then resign or must submit himself to the voters at a second election. Oregon, in 1908, was the first state to adopt the recall. Ten states since that time have adopted this law, but in four of them it does not apply to judges. Some of these states

are Louisiana, Washington, Arizona, California, and Michigan.

645. Direct election of United States senators. The Constitution provides (Art. I, §3) that the legislatures of the states shall choose the United States senators. People became dissatisfied with this system and changed it. They said it was not democratic. So in 1913 the Seventeenth Amendment was adopted by which the senators are elected by the people.

CITY GOVERNMENT

646. The problem. In 1880 only about one-fourth of the whole nation lived in cities; in 1920 fully one-half of all our people were found there. Our ten largest cities contain over 14 per cent of the entire population of the country. This growth of the cities has created many serious problems, none of them more serious than the problem of how to govern the city. There are so many things that a city government must do. It must look after schools, paving, lighting, water supply, police, sewers, and finances. The average citizen knows little about these things and can learn but little about them. So he leaves the management of the city's affairs to its officers and pays little attention to them. This failure of the citizens gives bosses and political rings a chance to run the affairs of the city about as they please. For this reason we have had much bad city government. It is clear that we have had less success with city than with either state or national government.

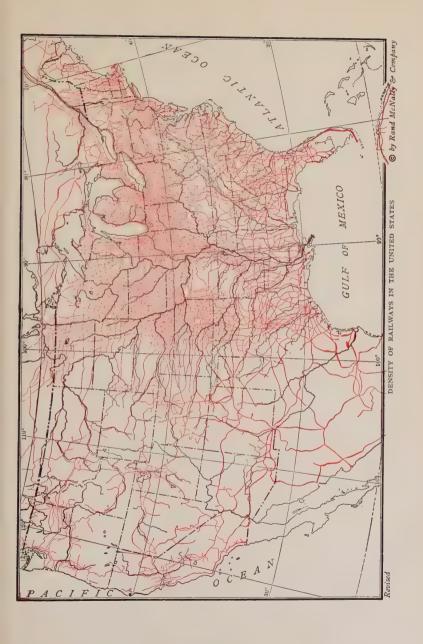
647. The city and the state. All cities are under the control of the state. The city government may do only such things as the state legislature permits it to do.

The cities are usually put into four classes according to size. There is a certain type of government in all cities of the same class. The paper in which the powers of the city and the duties of the officers are described is called a charter. A few states allow cities to frame their own charters, but they must be approved by the legislature.

- 648. Ordinary type of city government. Most cities have a mayor and a council, both elected by the voters of the city. The council makes the city laws, and it is the mayor's business to enforce them. There has been a great deal of complaint about graft and waste of money in city government. Many people thought this was due to the form of city government, so they devised a new plan
- 649. The commission plan. The new plan provided that commissioners usually five, should be elected. The commissioners make the city laws and control the administration. Their duties are thus both law-making and law-enforcing. Each commissioner is responsible for some branch of city government, as one looks after the police and fire departments, another streets and alleys, and so on. The initiative, referendum, and recall, in some form, usually go with the commission plan of city government. This plan was first used in Galveston, Texas.

It was found that this new form of city government was better than the ordinary form. By 1918, 646 cities had adopted this plan. Among them were such important places as Buffalo, Denver, Cleveland, Dallas, and Newark. Later another improvement was made.

650. City manager plan. The city manager plan is like the commission plan except that it brings in a trained





expert to manage the business affairs of the city. He is not supposed to be a politician. He is a business man. He must know how to run the city to make life and property safe and give the people the most for their money. The commissioners choose the city manager, pay him a good salary, and make him responsible for all administration. When the commissioners choose such a manager, they are supposed to select the best man to be found, no matter whether he lives in the city or not. The manager is expected to show good results just as is the manager of a factory, a mine, or any other large business. He is given the right to appoint all of his helpers and is held responsible for their work. In 1918, 168 cities had hired city managers. Some of these cities were Wichita, Dayton, Norfolk, Grand Rapids, Dubuque, and Kalamazoo.

651. Reason to be encouraged. All these changes in city government are encouraging. There has been a vast improvement in city affairs all over the country. They show that the people want good government in the city and that they are willing to make experiments in order to get it. But it is well to remember that no form of popular government can be successful unless the citizens take an active interest in political matters. It is also plain that no form of city government can succeed without honest officers.

SOCIALISM

652. The rise of socialism. Socialism first appeared in France during the great French Revolution (1789–98). It was brought to this country about the middle of the century by emigrants from Germany. The unrest of the eighties and nineties in the labor world caused many

working people to turn to socialism. The socialists feel that the poor man has a hard time and little chance to gain wealth; and the rich man lives in luxury and has all the good things of life. This leads them to think that the whole industrial world is wrong. They do not realize that most well-to-do people were once poor.

653. What socialism teaches. Socialism teaches that the ownership of tools, such as machinery, railroads, and factories, puts great riches into the hands of the owners or capitalists. It says that capitalists are few while workmen number millions. It objects to a few persons being rich and many poor.

What does socialism propose to do? It proposes that the government shall own all means of production; and that it operate all land, railroads, factories, mines, and machinery. The capitalist as an owner would be entirely wiped out. All workers would work for the state. The socialists think this would do away with poverty and misery. Most people do not believe this.

Not only socialists but thoughtful people everywhere want to see suffering and poverty grow less. The great reform movements of the last fifty years show that Americans are determined to make conditions better for the poor, but nothing will take the place of honesty, intelligence, and hard work.

654. The Socialist party. The Socialist party was organized in 1898. In 1900 it nominated a candidate for the presidency and polled 87,000 votes. Since that time it has regularly taken part in politics. In 1912 almost 900,000 votes were cast for Eugene V. Debs, its candidate for the presidency.

The Socialists have made a fight to get control of the American Federation of Labor, but so far have failed.

THE FIRST WILSON ADMINISTRATION (1913-17)

655. The Underwood Tariff. The years from 1806 to 1913 were filled with earnest discussion of reform. Some

important reform laws had been passed before Wilson became president. In the campaign of 1012 the Democrats promised a reduction of the tariff if they were elected. Wilson called a special session of Congress to revise the tariff laws. A bill reducing the tariff rates on food, clothing, steel products, sugar, cotton goods, wool, and other articles was proposed by Representative Underwood of Alabama, After months of discussion it was passed. This meant a loss of many millions of dollars to



the government. The Democrats promised to make up the loss by levying an income tax.

656. Income tax. The income tax law of 1893 had been declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court (§544), but in 1013 the Constitution was changed by the Sixteenth Amendment to permit such a law. Congress now passed another income tax law which more than made up the loss caused by reducing the tariff.

657. Federal Reserve Act. About every twenty years the country has suffered from a financial panie. When banks suspected a panic was coming, each bank gathered in all the money it could get in order to be able to meet expected

demands upon it. Each bank had to look out for itself, and there was no way of combining the strength of the banks to resist the panic. This lessened the amount of money circulating among the people. It was believed, too, that the money and credit of the whole country tended to collect too much in the New York banks. The effect of this was to give New York control of all the finances of the nation.

To meet this situation the Federal Reserve Act was passed in 1913. It placed all the national banks under the Federal Reserve Board and arranged to combine the strength of all the banks. These united banks can keep more money in circulation if a panic threatens. It established twelve reserve banks in twelve districts throughout the country. This prevents the money from being drawn to New York. The Federal Reserve cities



JOHN J. PERSHING

are Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Richmond, Atlanta, Chicago, St. Louis, Minneapolis, Kansas City, San Francisco, and Dallas.

Other important acts of this period were the Farm Loan Bank Act (§713), the Clayton Act (§624), and the "Wait-a-Bit" treaties (§598).

658. Trouble with Mexico. In 1916, after the bandit Villa had killed seventeen Americans in New Mexico,

President Wilson ordered a small army under General Pershing to capture Villa.²²⁷ The president of Mexico strongly opposed the sending of American soldiers to his country and ordered the Mexican army to stop General Pershing's advance. War seemed certain. But when Carranza saw that Wilson was in earnest, he proposed a conference. The Americans agreed and terms were fixed. Our troops then withdrew from Mexico. Trouble with Mexico continued until 1920, when Carranza was overthrown and better relations were established between the two countries.

659. Purchase of the Virgin Islands. In 1917 the United States bought the Virgin Islands from Denmark. These three islands, with some smaller ones, lie east of Porto Rico.²²⁸ By this purchase, by the control of Porto Rico, Santo Domingo, and Haiti, and by our connection with Cuba, we control the Caribbean Sea and can protect the Panama Canal from European attack.

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PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. You are an immigrant from Poland and have been naturalized. Yesterday you cast your first vote in America. Topic, "How I felt when I cast my first ballot." 2. "Why I should like to be a fire-fighter in a big city." 3. Your father keeps sheep on his farm in Ohio. Write a letter to Congressman Underwood telling him what you think of the Underwood tariff.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE GROWTH OF THE NATION

THE GROWTH OF THE WEST-NEW STATES

660. The territories. In 1880 two-thirds of the area of the United States was occupied by states; the other



GROWTH OF SETTLED AREA FROM 1870 TO 1010

third consisted of nine territories. This vast region, almost a million square miles in extent, lay along and spread out on each side of the Rockies. Colorado, cut out of this area, was made a state in 1876. Dakota and Indian Territory lay far out on the plains, and Washington stretched westward from the Rockies to the Pacific.

There were good reasons for this being the last region to be occupied by the steady stream of settlers. It is a rough, mountainous region of little rainfall, so farming as carried on in the Mississippi Valley could not be successful. But in the mountains were great deposits of the precious metals, and stretching along the foothills and in the river valleys were ranges of grasslands on which cattle could feed. So the miners and cattle men had the country to themselves as long as there was good farming land to be had elsewhere.

661. Dakota.²²⁹ In 1862 Congress passed the Homestead Act offering every genuine settler 160 acres of government land. This was to attract immigrants from Europe. They came. In the next ten years three million of them came! But not until about 1883 did the tide turn strongly to Dakota. In that year the Northern Pacific railroad was completed, and poured thousands of settlers into the Northwest. One author says, "Farmers settled in Dakota so rapidly that single counties with scarcely an inhabitant at the beginning of the summer were well populated at the end of the year." Before long the great "bonanza" farms were pouring torrents of spring wheat into the markets of the world. Between 1880 and 1800 the number of farms increased to over 60,000 and the acreage to over 15,250,000. This great growth led to a demand for statehood. In 1888 the people of the territory decided to divide it into North Dakota and South Dakota. They were admitted as states the following year.

662. Montana. Montana is rich in gold, silver, lead, and copper. This mineral wealth early drew settlers to this section, but the great forests soon attracted the lumbermen. Cattle raising was early developed on a large scale. Years later the wheat-growing region of the eastern part of the state came under cultivation.

During the years 1880–90 the population rose from 40,000 to 132,000. Here again we see the influence of the Northern Pacific railroad upon the settlement of the Northwest. In 1889 Montana was admitted to the Union as a state.

663. Washington. The year 1889 saw the admission of another state, Washington. When we read of Washington we think of those intrepid explorers, Lewis and Clark, and of the days when the Astor Fur Company and the Northwest Company were struggling to get control of the fur trade of this region.

Only its great distance from the centers of population prevented the early settlement of this country. But, as in Dakota and Montana, with the completion of the Northern Pacific the tide of settlers began to flow in. They found a land rich in natural resources. Fertile farming country, great ranges for cattle, extensive forests of fir, cedar, spruce, and yellow pine, and a climate and soil ideal for fruit growing are all here.

But this is not all its natural wealth. Coal, rare in the Northwest, is found, and the Columbia is known the world over for its salmon fisheries. A look at the map shows us the advantages this state enjoys in the way of ports on Puget Sound. We see why Seattle has become one of the big cities on the Pacific coast. It is no wonder that Washington had a larger population than any other of the nine territories admitted between 1880 and 1912.

664. Wyoming (1890). The forty-third state admitted was Wyoming, a true mountain state. This territory was first entered by Vérendrye, the French fur trader, and his sons about 1735. The first settlements grew up around the fur companies' trading posts. Fort Bridger



on the Green River was one of these posts. Gold was discovered in 1867. Coal mining and cattle raising became the leading industries, and oil fields have been opened.

In 1867 the Union Pacific railroad entered Wyoming and laid out Cheyenne, which became the capital.

In the northwest corner of the state lies the famous Yellowstone Park. Thousands of tourists every year visit this wonderful playground to see its natural beauties.

- 665. Idaho. Another mountain and mining state is Idaho, admitted in 1890.²³⁰ Three great railroad systems, the Union Pacific, the Northern Pacific, and the Great Northern, cross this state. The small rainfall has prevented Idaho from becoming great in agriculture, but when the land is irrigated it yields most abundant crops. Like the other mountain states, Idaho has great forests.
- 666. Utah. Utah, as we have seen, was settled by the Mormons (§374). The territory belonged to Mexico then, but as a result of the Mexican War it was ceded to the United States. The Mormons were again living in the United States. Other settlers came in, attracted by the mines and the possibilities of sheep raising. The soil proved to be good for growing sugar beets, and that became an important industry.

In 1896, Utah was admitted to the Union as a state. The constitution of the state forbids polygamy and says that this provision cannot be changed without the consent of Congress.

667. Oklahoma. After long-continued troubles with the Indians east of the Mississippi, the government set aside a vast region of about 70,000 square miles in all, west of Arkansas, for them. This country, called Indian Territory, lay in the valleys of the Red, Canadian, and

Arkansas rivers. White men were ordered to keep out of it. But they knew of its rich lands and were continually trying to break in and seize them. Finally the government bought the lands from the Indians and made the western half of them into Oklahoma Territory.

668. The Oklahoma rush. A proclamation by President Harrison announced that at noon, April 12, 1889, the territory would be open for settlers. Great crowds gathered along the border, anxious to rush in and establish claims. People in wagons, on horseback, and on foot eagerly awaited the signal. At just twelve o'clock a bugle blast rang out, and they started across the line in a mad race for land. Fifty thousand people went in the first day. Before night towns were laid out, and banks, newspapers, and stores were established. In 1907 Oklahoma was admitted as a state.



GUTHRIE ON THE FIRST NIGHT OF THE OPENING

669. New Mexico and Arizona. Lying far over to the southwest in the arid region are New Mexico and Arizona. The first European to enter Arizona was Coronado, a Spaniard, who set out in 1540 to find the



GUTHRIE FOUR YEARS LATER, A THRIVING AND WELL-BUILT CITY

mysterious Seven Cities of Cibola. Instead of reaching cities with streets of gold and silver he found only the simple dwellings of the cliff-dwellers.

De Vaca, in his search for gold, entered the region now called New Mexico in 1536.

The capital of New Mexico is the old Spanish town of Santa Fe founded early in the sixteenth century.²³¹

Acquired by the United States as a result of the Mexican War, this area was organized as the territory of New Mexico in 1850. It included Arizona. In 1854 the "Gadsden Purchase" was added to it. Arizona was cut off and became a separate territory in 1867. This vast region, Arizona and New Mexico, more than six times as large as Indiana, is noted for its rich deposits of gold, silver, copper, and coal. Both of these territories, the last to become states, were admitted to the

Union in 1912. The Santa Fe and the Southern Pacific railroads carried settlers to these states.

670. The vanishing frontier. All good farming land of the public domain had been occupied by 1900. The Pacific railroads were responsible for the rapid development of this region (§§661–665). They poured thousands of settlers into the West, and farms and cities took the



place of desert and wilderness. No longer could men in the East who had failed in factory or on farm pile their goods into a "prairie schooner" or into a freight car and start west to seek their fortune on free government land. The farmers' sons of the East and Middle West, unable to buy western lands, turned to the factories and the mines for employment. The rush to the cities was on.

From the earliest days of America there had been a frontier (§108). The intrepid Scotch-Irish, pushing

through the passes of the Appalachians and rearing their log cabins in the Kentucky and Tennessee wilderness, carried the frontier westward (§110). Their descendants moved on into Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. They were flanked on the north by men of New England all drawn on by free land and free life. Roads and barbed wire fences, grain elevators, fruit and grain farms, and flourishing cities took the place of the frontier. The trapper and fur trader, the lonely gold hunter, the cowboy and the cattle king, gave place to the farmer and the factory hand. The frontier had passed like a dream in the night. America had entered upon a new era.

671. The democratic influence of the frontier. Of all the influences bearing upon America the frontier made the deepest and most lasting impression. On the frontier one man was as good as another. Family name counted for nothing. Men got what they earned and intended to keep it. The frontiersmen were democratic, fearless, and impatient of restraint. Compelled to meet dangers and privations by discovering new methods of working and living, they became progressive. Not bound down by tradition, they were not afraid to try new ways. Thus the West has led the country in all sorts of political, social, and economic reforms. The frontier has gone, but its spirit is still leading America to a bigger and better life for all her citizens.

THE INDIANS

672. The old way. Until 1875 the white man and the Indian struggled for possession of the land. The white man wanted it for farms, the Indian for hunting grounds. Many treaties were made under which the Indian signed away his right to the land, accepting

money and goods in its place. But the Indian did not understand that the sale meant he must go away from the land forever and not hunt nor fish upon it (§33). Many times, too, the Indians said their chiefs who signed the treaties had no right to sell the lands of the tribe. So they tried to hold on, and Indian wars, one after another, desolated the frontier.

In 1830 Congress tried to get the eastern Indians to move to the Indian Territory. They did not go willingly, but by 1850 most of them had been moved beyond

the Mississippi.

This removal caused much suffering and hard feeling. In 1836 the government bought from the Pottawattomies, the land lying in northwestern Indiana. When the time came to move, the Indians refused to leave and soldiers were called in. Eight hundred men, women, and children on foot started on the long trail to the West. The weather was hot, and the change of water and food brought on sickness. Across Illinois and Missouri the sad procession moved. When at last they reached their new home in Kansas, the journey had cost more than one hundred and fifty lives.

West of the Mississippi it was the same way. During the sixties and seventies fierce wars with the Sioux, Cheyennes, and other powerful tribes resulted in the defeat of the Indians.

673. Battle of the Little Big Horn. One of the fiercest battles with the western Indians took place in 1876 on the Little Big Horn River in southern Montana. Here the Sioux tribe under one of its chiefs, Sitting Bull, fought a desperate battle with General Custer and his little army of 260 men. Custer and all of his men were killed, but the Indians were soon driven back to their own territory.²³²

A monument marks the spot where Custer fell. As a result of these wars the Indians were gathered into reservations or were sent to the Indian Territory.



674. The reservation system. The government gave food and clothing to the Indians who stayed within the bounds of the reservation. It kept up schools and tried to keep traders from selling the Indians firearms and whisky. Indeed, it treated the Indians just as if they were children who must be fed and clothed but must be kept shut up for fear they would get into mischief. This idle, useless, dependent life was very bad for them and made trouble for the government and for the Indians.

One difficulty with the reservation plan was that when the Indians had settled down in a certain place it was only a few years until they were asked or ordered to move again. Tecumseh in 1810 complained of this to General Harrison, saying, "You are continually driving the Red people; at last you will drive them into the great lake where they can't either stand or work." 675. The new way. In 1887 Congress passed the Dawes Act. Under it the Indian may become a citizen with the right to vote and hold office. At the same time he has a chance to own land and to run a farm. If he stays quietly on his farm for a few years, earning his living and caring for his family, the land becomes his.

The new way is successful. The Indian gets along much better than he did under the old plan of reservations. Many of them now have their own farms and cattle ranches; some have become rich.

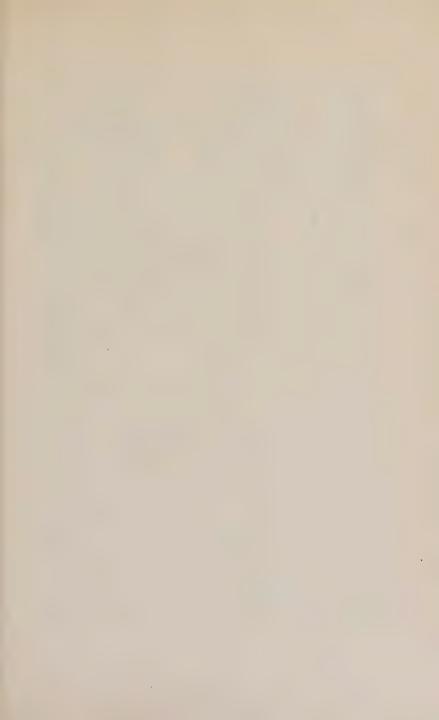
676. Recent conditions. The Indian population is now about 325,000. It does not seem to be dying out. On the contrary it is slowly gaining in numbers. There are still 113 reservations scattered over the country. Arizona has the largest area of reservation land, almost 30,000 square miles, and Oklahoma the largest Indian population, nearly 120,000. All the Oklahoma Indians now have their own land and have given up tribal organization.

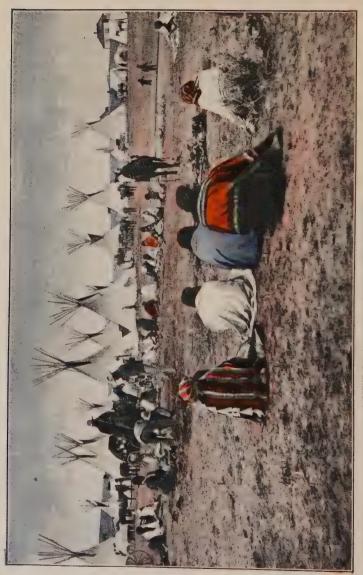
GROWTH IN EDUCATION

Religion, morality, and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged.—Ordinance of 1787.

677. Progress to 1880. Nothing seems to have been clearer to the founders of our republic than that free, general education was a matter of the greatest importance. Thinking people understand that to keep up a democratic government the people must be able to form their own opinions. Hence public schools were founded and real progress was made.

The Civil War interfered with this progress. In the South it destroyed so much property that it was hard to raise enough money to educate all the children. The





A SCENE ONCE FAMILIAR ON ALL INDIAN RESERVATIONS

people of this region have been struggling with this problem ever since, but are now making progress.

678. Growth since 1880. In kindergarten, grades, high school, and college there has been great growth in the last forty years. Many new kinds of educational work, barely thought of in 1880, have become common since that time. Among these are included night schools, vocational training, citizenship classes, community centers and extension work, medical inspection, compulsory attendance, and vacation schools.

679. The kindergarten. The kindergarten is a school for children too young to go to the grade school. The first school of this kind in the United States was founded in 1855. By 1880 the movement was well started. Now there are kindergartens connected with the public schools all over the country.²³⁸

680. The grades. The elementary school means much to the nation because it is the place where young America, for the most part, gets its training. Out of one hundred children starting school in the first grade, on an average fifty have dropped out at the end of the sixth grade. Sixteen more drop out during the seventh and eighth grades. This means that about two-thirds of the children who start in school never attend the high school.

In 1880 there were 9,500,000 children in the elementary schools; by 1916 this number had risen to 20,500,000. It costs about \$42 a year per pupil to run the schools. In the schools of earlier days little was taught except reading, writing, spelling, arithmetic, grammar, geography, and United States history (§375). Now there are added nature study, drawing, music, cooking, sewing, physical training, and manual training.

681. The high school. In 1880 there were about 2,500 free public high schools in the country; in 1915 the number had increased to 12,000. This great development has taken place in all parts of the country, especially in the South and West. Years ago some people objected to paying taxes to keep up the high school, but there is much less objection now.

Most people used to think the high schools existed mainly to get boys and girls ready for college. Now high schools have come to be the "people's college." Many of the great city high schools now have better buildings, better equipment, and better teachers than the old-time colleges had.²³⁴

682. Changes. There have been two great changes in high schools since 1880. Country children once had no chance for high school training unless they went to the city. Now in many states they are coming to have as good a chance right at home as the city child has. In a growing number of states there are fine township or community high schools. Children whose homes are not in walking distance are taken to and from school in



A MODERN HIGH SCHOOL

wagons or cars. Some of these consolidated schools also care for the children in the grades. The old one-room

country school is disappearing and its place is being taken by the modern, well-equipped consolidated school. The

second change is that in the cities different kinds of high schools are appearing. The old-time high school offered two or three courses: now there are general culture high schools. manualtraining high schools, commercial high schools,



A MODERN RURAL SCHOOL

and agricultural and industrial high schools.235

683. Normal schools and agricultural colleges. ago it was thought that anyone who had completed the work of the eight grades knew enough to teach school. Gradually people got the idea that a good teacher must at least be a graduate of a high school and should have some special training for teaching. Thus arose the normal school for the special preparation of teachers. These schools have increased rapidly in number. In 1916 there were 278 of them with about 173,000 students.236

The Morrill Act of 1862 granted 30,000 acres of the public land to each state for each senator and representative it had in Congress. The proceeds of the sale of these lands were to be used to support "agricultural and mechanical" colleges. Every state in the Union now has a state university or college of agriculture resting upon this grant. They give courses in agriculture, engineering, law,

teaching, business, and other subjects. Any young person in the country can find in his own state one of these institutions eager to help him in getting a higher education.²³⁷

Besides the state universities there are many colleges and universities founded by churches and private citizens (§379). All of them have done a great work in bringing to the boys and girls of America the chance for college training.²³⁸

684. Vocational training. People used to think there was time enough to settle the question of a boy's occupation after he completed the high school course. The result was that the high school course of study did nothing to train him for any certain line of work.²³⁹ About 1880 people began to change their minds about



AT WORK IN A TECHNICAL HIGH SCHOOL LABORATORY

this question. They had discovered that only about twelve out of every hundred children that entered the first grade ever finished high school. The others stopped in order to go to work. They thought young people should be fitted in the schools to earn a living whether they go on through high school or not. In this way "practical" or "vocational" studies came into the schools.

First came the founding of agricultural high schools by several states. In these schools stock judging, farm accounts, seed testing, soils, marketing, and similar subjects were taught. Then the cities began to found trade schools where the boys were taught such kinds of work as printing, electrical work, drafting, and plumbing. In a little while, too, there were schools in which the girls could learn millinery, dressmaking, cooking, and salesmanship. This is a great change from the old type of education, but it keeps many boys and girls in school. It will also help them to earn a good living.

Congress showed its interest in this kind of work by passing the Smith-Hughes Bill in 1917. By this act the Federal government agrees to pay several million dollars a year to help the states carry on schools in agriculture, home economics, and in the trades. Over two thousand schools received this help in 1919.

685. Compulsory school attendance. In 1852 Massachusetts passed the first law compelling parents to send their children to school. Since that time all of the states have passed such laws. The age limit varies: in most of the states the children must be in school a part, or all, of the school year until they are fourteen years old; in other states the age limit for school attendance is sixteen years.

686. Schools for adults. One-fourth of the people in Chicago, Detroit, Buffalo, and Pittsburgh cannot speak

the English language. They cannot read the newspapers, and it is hard for them to gather true information about American life and purposes. They will become good Americans if they are given a chance to learn the language of the country. Thoughtful Americans understand this need, and now in all the large cities there are night schools where the immigrant is taught to use the English language. He is taught also-the history of the United States, what it means to vote, and what the duties and privileges of citizenship are. This work is practical Americanization.

687. The school a community center. The school is the natural center for all community interests. All our citizens, of every race, color, condition, and creed, have a like interest in the school. In the public schools all children have an equal opportunity.

The rural schools were closed about half of the year. About the year 1900 people began to use the school buildings for community meetings. One of our troubles in the past was that we did not get together enough and talk things over. Now people of a neighborhood gather in the schoolhouse and have lectures, debates, parties, banquets, and meetings to discuss public questions. Many a rural school now has a good library and a pleasant reading room open to the public. To the school farmers come to hold their seed-testing and stock-judging contests. This does much to take away the loneliness of the farmer's life. It also shows the country boys and girls that people can have good times in the country as well as in the city. City people, too, are taking hold of the community center movement. In 1916 there were community centers in 518 cities, and the movement continues to spread rapidly.

688. Medical inspection. Many a boy who does poor work in school is thought by the teacher to be lazy or stupid. But often when the boy is examined, some physical defect of the eye, ear, nose, throat, or teeth is found. If he has the attention of a physician, the boy will become as alert and bright as any of his schoolmates. Should he not get this help, he will probably drop out of school and will be held back all his life. Medical inspection of school children, begun in Europe years ago, was



THE HOME ECONOMICS BUILDING, GEORGE PEABODY COLLEGE FOR TEACHERS, NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

slow in getting started in the United States. In 1906 Massachusetts passed the first act requiring such inspection. By 1911 twenty states had followed her example. Splendid results have been secured.

689. Woman and higher education. One of the great educational movements of the last fifty years is the admission of women to colleges and universities. Before that time the "female seminaries" were thought good enough for women. Now, practically all higher institutions of learning admit them. In addition there are many colleges of high standing for women. Many medical colleges and law schools have opened their doors to women.

GROWTH OF READING

690. Literature. Literature has had a great development since the Civil War. Samuel L. Clemens, "Mark Twain," first of a group of western writers, gave the world two of the greatest boys' books ever written, *Huckleberry Finn* and *Tom Sawyer*.²⁴⁰ He also made a reputation as a humorist in his *Innocents Abroad*.

Bret Harte was another western writer, and Joaquin Miller, also of the West, gave America a splendid vision of herself in his poem "Columbus." The South, too, made many fine contributions to American literature. George W. Cable wrote stories like *The Grandissimes* and *Bonaventure* about Louisiana people, while Charles Egbert Craddock pictured the life of the southern mountaineers. Thomas Nelson Page with *Red Rock* belongs to this group. Three great southern poets were Sidney Lanier, Paul Hamilton Hayne, and Irwin Russell.

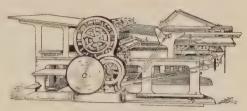
The Middle West found a voice in the poems of James Whitcomb Riley and Eugene Field. Riley, known as the "Hoosier poet," wrote many poems in "Hoosier dialect," but he also has many beautiful compositions in pure English. His poems picture scenes of simple life with humor. His best loved poems are in the volumes, Rhymes of Childhood, Out to Old Aunt Mary's, The Raggedy Man, and The Little Orphant Annie Book. Field also was a poet of childhood and a humorist. Among his best known works are A Little Book of Western Verse, With Trumpet and Drum, and Poems of Childhood.

Edward Eggleston wrote three famous stories of early days in the Middle West: The Hoosier School Boy, The Hoosier School Master, and The Circuit Rider.²⁴²

New England life in this period is pictured by Sarah Orne Jewett, Mary E. Wilkins Freeman, and Alice Brown.

But there are some writers whose work is not about any special part of the country. They wrote, instead, for all

America. Among them was the poet Walt Whitman, and the short story-writers Hamlin Garland, Frank R. Stockton, Richard



A MODERN PRINTING PRESS

Harding Davis,²⁴¹ and O. Henry.²⁴⁵ Some novelists of this group were Henry James, William Dean Howells, Owen Wister, Meredith Nicholson, Jack London, Booth Tarkington, Gene Stratton Porter, and Winston Churchill.

691. Newspapers and periodicals. Since 1880 there has been a great increase in the reading habit on the part of the general public. This increase has expressed itself in a demand for more magazines and newspapers, as well as for more books. Outside of the schools, the newspapers and magazines are, without doubt, the greatest educational force in America. The number of newspapers and periodicals in 1918 was two and one-half times what it was in 1880. Some of the great newspapers print over 200,000 copies a day, while one popular magazine prints over 2,000,000 copies a week.

692. Books and libraries. The great ironmaster, Andrew Carnegie,²⁴⁶ believed that every city and town should have its free public library. He gave almost \$45,000,000 for this purpose. He did not give all the money needed for the buildings, but required the city where a library was to be built to pay part of the cost. As a result Mr. Carnegie is responsible for 1,539 free libraries for the use of the general public. In addition

to this Mr. Carnegie gave over \$18,000,000 to colleges for their libraries. This was a princely gift to the American people.

Magazines that give a review of current events with an intelligent discussion of them are important. In many schools it is the custom to use these magazines for class work. Prominent among them are the *Literary Digest*, the *Review of Reviews*, the *World's Work*, the *Outlook*, and *Current Events*.

SUGGESTED READINGS ?

References for teachers: Pattee, History of American Literature since 1870; Bassett, Short History, 711, 712; Eastman, The Indian of Today; Cubberley, Public Education in the United States; Hart, Contemporaries, IV, nos. 204, 205; Schafer, History of the Pacific Northwest; Paxson, The Last American Frontier; Sparks, National Development; Sweet, History of Latin America.

References for pupils: Paine, The Boy's Life of Mark Twain; Sabin, Building the Pacific Railway; Dellenbaugh, Breaking the Wilderness; Muir, Our National Parks; Hough, The Story of the Cowboy; Garland, Boy Life on the Prairie; Hart, Source Book, no. 138; Parrish, The Great Plains.

Fiction: Eaton, Boy Scouts in Glacier Park; Tomlinson, Scouting with Kit Carson; Schulz, With the Indians in the Rockies; Grinnell, Blackfeet Indian Stories; Allen, The Mettle of the Pasture; Fox, Christmas Eve on Lonesome; London, The House of Pride; Harris, On the Plantation.

PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. Imagine you have been visiting friends in the Red River Valley in North Dakota. Write an account of the big wheat farms to your friends at home. 2. Topic, "Salmon fishing on the Columbia." 3. Imagine yourself an old Indian telling your grandchildren the story of the struggle between the white man and the Indian for the land. 4. Topic, "Why I like my school." 5. Make out programs for three community meetings at your school this winter.

CHAPTER XXVII

GROWTH IN TRADE AND INDUSTRY

GROWTH OF FOREIGN TRADE

693. Foreign trade. Many products of our farms and factories go to other countries to help feed and clothe their people. This volume of outflowing goods is our exports, but we bring into this country great quantities of rubber, coffee, wool, sugar, pulp wood, and other products. These are our imports.

Imports and exports together make up our foreign trade. World trade rests upon the fact that the United States can produce some kinds of goods more cheaply than other countries can and that in producing some goods other countries have the advantage over us. So each country, after using what it wants of its products, trades the rest to other countries.

694. Agricultural exports. The United States has always had a big advantage in farm products. This is due to our rich soil, our favorable climate, and our wide use of farm machinery. We have been exporting farm products ever since the founding of our country. In 1920 we sent out of the country two and one-half times as much as in 1880. Cotton, meat, wheat, and flour were valued in the order named.²⁴⁷ The people of Europe are not accustomed to using corn meal, so we feed the corn to our cattle and hogs and export it in the form of meat.

695. The export of manufactures. While our exports of farm products have greatly increased since 1880,

manufactures have left them far behind. The export of manufactured goods has increased more than thirty times the amount in 1880 and is now six times greater than our agricultural products exported.²⁴⁸

In far-away Siberia locomotives made in Philadelphia are drawing trains of American-made cars over steel rails made in Pittsburgh. Chinese shopkeepers light their



FREIGHT AT THE DOCKS READY FOR SHIPMENT TO EUROPE

stores with the product of the Standard Oil Company, and Australian sheep raisers use American barbed wire fences between their pastures. Self-binders from Chicago gather the wheat crop in Hungary, and American-made talking machines and moving pictures entertain the boys and girls of Siam. The Brazilian lights his streets with electric current made by machinery from Schenectady, and a bridge made in Chicago and shipped in parts spans the straits between India and Ceylon. American boots and shoes, rubber tires, and automobiles are found in every land. The American manufacturer uses the whole world for his market.

696. Our customers. Europe has always been our best customer. This is natural because highly developed countries having industries of their own are able to call for the products of all the world and get them. They have something to give in exchange. England is our largest buyer, with Canada next. Then in order come France, Cuba, Japan, Italy, Germany, and Belgium (1920).

697. Imports. No nation can export goods to any great extent unless it also imports goods. This is because the nations receiving goods cannot pay for them in money alone. That would soon strip them of gold. They pay for goods with other goods of their own production.

In 1920 the imports of the United States were seven times greater than in 1880. The principal articles brought in are sugar, chemicals, rubber, coffee, silk, flax, hemp, and jute. These goods come from the countries to which we export. It is important to know that they do not appear in the same order—Cuba, Canada, England, Japan, Brazil, Argentine, China, and France.

698. Balance of trade. Since 1880 the value of United States exports has always been greater than that of its imports. When we are selling more than we are buying we are said to have a "favorable balance" of trade.

699. Trade with South America. With its large population and big cities, South America is a great market for all kinds of manufactured goods. But until recently the United States has had only a small part of this trade. England and Germany years ago got into this market and taught the people to use their goods. The United States, on the other hand, never made any special effort to get into the South American market. There were no branches of American banks there, and American business firms had few men there who spoke Spanish.

700. Reciprocity. About 1880 America began to show more interest in South America. We have seen how Secretary Blaine in 1889 brought about a meeting of Pan-American delegates in Washington. They recommended reciprocity treaties between the different countries (§603). As a result reciprocity was put in the McKinley Tariff Law of 1890 (§538). The substance of it was that the United States would admit free of duty, sugar, molasses, coffee, and hides if the South American states would receive our farm machinery, engines, shoes, and other goods on favorable terms. This was the real basis of the trade that has developed since that time.

701. Panama Canal trade. Among other things the building of the Panama Canal was intended to help trade between the United States and South America. One can see what a big change it makes when he looks at the map (p. 368).

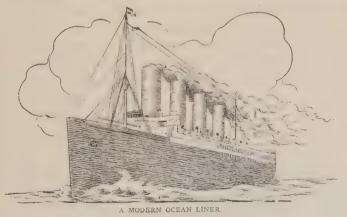
702. The new attitude. Our business men are awake to the fact that there is a big market for their goods in South America and are training young men to go there as their agents. The bankers are opening branch banks in all the large cities, and the South Americans are being taught to use our products. Many meetings have been held to develop friendly feelings, and groups of business men have visited back and forth.

The results are very encouraging. Our exports to South America have grown to twenty-one times what they were in 1880. This is a fine gain. Our exports to Europe are three times what they were in 1880.

In imports, too, we have done well. They are now seventeen times as great as they were at the beginning of this period. The five countries leading in business with the United States are in order Argentine, Brazil, Colombia,

Chile, and Peru. It is clear that the South American trade will be an increasing factor in our industrial life.

703. Merchant marine. Most of our commerce was carried in American vessels until the Civil War. After that our merchant marine went down rapidly and other nations got our sea trade. Americans could make more by putting their money in railroads, farms, and factories. So our merchant ships almost disappeared from the sea, and Holland, England, Norway, and Germany carried our products and collected big freight bills. By 1907 only seven ships out of one hundred carrying our exports flew the American flag. Men wanting to start steamship lines asked for a subsidy; that is, they asked Congress to help them with money as it had helped the western railroads with land (§528). Others thought it best to let foreigners carry our freight if they could do it cheaper than we could.



The World War made a big change in shipping.²⁵¹ The ships of other nations were largely driven from the seas, and we began to buy and build ships as fast as we could. In 1918 our tonnage was forty times as great as in 1912.

GROWTH OF INDUSTRY

704. Our national wealth. With about 6 per cent of the land surface of the globe and about 6 per cent of its population, the United States each year produces one-third of all the world's wealth. We have enough national wealth to give every man, woman, and child over \$2,000, if it were evenly divided. In 1880 our national wealth was hardly one-fifth of what it is now. Its growth has been astonishing. It has grown even faster than the population. How has this growth been brought about?

AGRICULTURE

705. Reasons for growth. There are several reasons for the great growth in farming in the last forty years. Some of them are: the increase in the area of farm land and the number of farms; the development and greater use of farm machinery and of scientific methods of farming; the development of hard roads and railroads; the higher standard of living and of intelligence among farmers.

706. Increase in farm lands. The United States census tells us there were 4,000,000 farms in the United States



THE STEAM PLOW AT WORK ON A PRAIRIE FARM

the number had increased to about 6,700,000. We have seen (§661) how the Homestead Act opened the West to settlement, how the building of the railroads brought set-

in 1880. In 1018

tlers into that region (§§661–669) and how irrigation added to the acreage of farm lands (§565).

707. Science and farming. In the great state universities and agricultural colleges the laboratories are filled with scientists who are studying questions of farm work. Some of them are studying diseases of plants and how to get rid of them. It was in 1885 that a scientist gave the Bordeaux mixture to the world. By this mixture many bad diseases of plants may be kept down. In the laboratory other scientists are studying diseases of animals and their prevention. Many of these diseases are due to germs. The scientists find and study the germ, and then show the farmer how to fight it and thus keep his cattle, hogs, and sheep in good health.

In other laboratories scientists study soils. They learn what kind of fertilizers the soil needs to make it produce more. They tell the farmer how to use these fertilizers. They tell him also how to make worn-out soil productive again. Other scientists study insect pests and how to deal with them. They have told the farmer how to fight the potato bug and the codling moth that ruins so many apples. They have studied the Hessian fly that killed half the wheat crop, and have found out that if the farmer delays planting until the flies that lay the eggs are gone, he will have no trouble. The cotton boll weevil that threatened the entire cotton crop a few years ago has had to surrender to the scientist. The grain farmer,

the cattle and hog raiser, the fruit grower, the cotton planter, and the market gardener



are all dependent A KEROSENE TRACTOR ATTACHED TO MOWING MACHINES upon the work of the scientist. Our food supply could hardly be kept up without his help.

708. Farm machinery. Farm machinery saves human labor. A modern farm has about twice as much machinery on it as it had in 1880. With its gang plows, its gasoline tractors, its corn planters, and its riding cultivators, its harvesters and motor trucks, it is a good deal like a factory. The farmer of today must know as much about machines as he does about plants and animals. These modern machines lessen the cost of production, and greatly increase the quantity of the crops raised.²⁵³



A STEAM HARVESTER AND THRESHER

709. Transportation. The farmer raises products to sell in the markets of the world, but if he has no means of carrying them to market he might as well go out of business. Modern farming and means of transportation go together. Improvement of country roads and extension of railroad lines have been the two main ways of meeting the transportation problem. In 1880 there were 93,000 miles of railroad in the country. In 1918 there were over 264,000 miles. There has been a wonderful improvement in country roads in the last few years. It now costs on the average a bit over 14 cents per bushel for the western farmer to get his wheat to the primary markets—Chicago, Minneapolis, Kansas City. If his wheat is going abroad, it will cost about 30 cents

per bushel to send it to Liverpool. By the extension of railroads and the cheapening of ocean freight the whole world has become the market of the American farmer.



The extension of railroads improves the city milk supply. Farmers living 300 miles from cities like New York now ship milk daily by special train to the city. In 1880 it was a rare thing for milk to be sent even 100 miles. Thus city dwellers get good fresh milk every day, and farmers who live hundreds of miles from the city can have successful dairy farms.

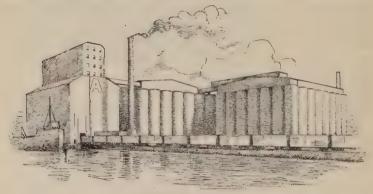
One of the latest developments is the rural truck line. In many parts of the country gasoline trucks stop at the



farmer's gate daily, and take on loads of butter, eggs, fruit, and poultry for the city.254 This is a great convenience to the farmer and relieves

the railroads of part of their work. Good railroad and good truck service raises the value of farm lands.

710. Storage. In some states the wheat crop is so big that the roads cannot carry it all to market at once. Hence it must be stored. The farmer cannot do this, so he hauls the wheat to the nearest town and sells it to the people who run the storage elevators.²⁵⁵ In many



A MODERN GRAIN ELEVATOR

instances the farmer feels that he does not get enough money for his crop, but he must sell it at the elevator price or lose it. In some places the farmers have combined and built elevators of their own. In this way they can hold their wheat until they are ready to sell it. North Dakota has gone into the business of running storage elevators.

711. Higher standards. The farmer's life is not what it used to be (§§324, 389). In addition to being a farmer, he is now a business man. He sells his goods in the markets of the world. He thus meets competition. He must have his daily newspaper and telephone so he can keep track of prices and do business quickly. He must know about animal and plant diseases and about soils. He

must understand machinery. It is to his interest to keep informed on public questions such as the tariff and trusts. He must be on good terms with the banker so he can borrow money when he wants it. He sees the relation between good schools and good farming and for this reason he wants good schools for his children. All this means that he is much more intelligent and alert than was the farmer of 1880.

The farmer has learned to live much more comfortably than he did in 1880. He eats better food, lives in a better house, rides in an automobile, and has his farm work done largely by machinery. He will work and plan harder than ever, use more machinery, and make more use of science in the future so that he can increase production and thus add to his income. In this way the rising standard of living constantly leads to better farming.

712. Farm renters. The picture of farming in the United States from 1880 to the present time is very encouraging, but there is another side that is not so pleasant. It has to do with farm renting.

In 1880 one-fourth of the farms were occupied by farm tenants or renters. By 1910 the number had risen to almost two-fifths, and it has greatly increased since then. There are several reasons for this. It takes more money now than formerly to own and run a farm. In the North Central states it is not uncommon for farm lands to cost as much as \$300 an acre. This means that an ordinary farm of 120 acres is worth about \$36,000, a sum so large that only well-to-do people can buy land and become farmers.

Many students of the subject think this habit of renting farms is bad, for the country. They say that the renter does not keep as much live stock as the owner

did and lets the soil run down. Expecting to move to some other farm after while, the renter fails to keep up the improvements. In this way some of the best farms in the country are losing their fertility, and a permanent tenant class is appearing.

The highest percentage of farm lands held by tenants is in the North Central states—Indiana, Illinois, and Iowa.

713. Land banks. Farmers have long complained of the high rates of interest they have been compelled to pay when they borrowed money at the banks. They also said they needed money for longer periods than the banks were willing to grant. This led to an agitation for the founding of some special kind of bank to meet the needs of the farmer. In 1916 Congress met this demand by establishing Federal Farm Loan banks. There are twelve of them. When a farmer wants to borrow money, he forms an association of at least ten farmers who are willing to back one another. Through this association they are able to borrow money from the Land bank in their district.

714. The Department of Agriculture. The Department of Agriculture at Washington supervises the farming industry of the country. The Department is organized in thirteen main divisions. The divisions that look after forests, public roads, markets, and animal industries are the most important. The Department maintains laboratories for experimental purposes at the state agricultural colleges and universities. It also publishes bulletins upon all subjects of interest to the farmer and his family. About \$28,000,000 per year is required to keep up the work of the Department of Agriculture, but it is worth many times that sum to the country.²⁵⁶

MANUFACTURING

715. Manufacturing and agriculture. Agriculture was easily developed in the United States because soil, climate, and people were all favorable to it. It was naturally the first and main industry. Not until 1880 did manufacturing pass agriculture in the value of its annual product. In spite of this gain the census tells us that more than one-third of our workers are engaged in agriculture while over one-fourth are engaged in manufacturing. From the standpoint, therefore, of the number of people engaged, agriculture is still our leading industry.

716. Manufacturing. Many factors enter into manufacturing: land, labor, capital, management, raw materials, transportation, and markets. We have become the greatest manufacturing nation in the world because we are specially favored in these respects: (1) We have a rich soil that yields great quantities of raw materials such as cotton, cereals, iron, and lumber. (2) The intelligence



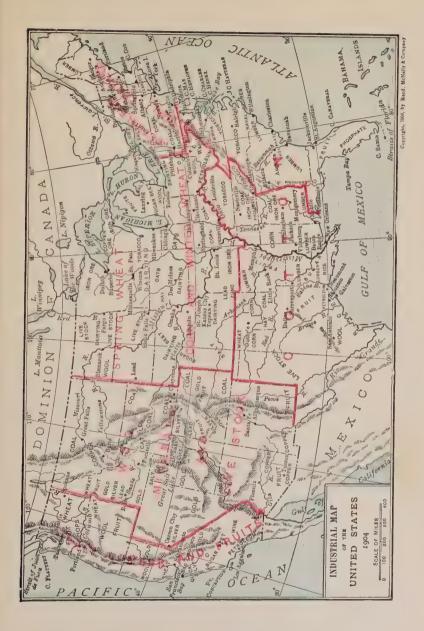
THE LARGEST LUMBER MILL IN THE WORLD

and industry as well as the ingenuity of our laboring people are largely responsible for our marked success in manufacturing. Our schools try to educate the child of the worker as well as of the rich man. (3) We have abundant capital. Our production of wealth is so great that a large surplus is left after we have used what we



A MODERN MILL FROM WHICH WHEAT AND FLOUR ARE SHIPPED TO ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD

need. This surplus is used as capital in producing more goods. It takes the form of machines, tools, buildings, and railroads. Thus our industries grow. (4) The management of a great manufacturing plant is a difficult task. Men should be trained for this work. Many universities have courses to train men to become superintendents and managers. Some large establishments, such as the General Electric Company, maintain schools for training these young men to take places in their plants. (5) Our transportation system of railroads, country roads, and Great Lakes is the best in the world. We have about 40 per cent of all the railroad lines in the world, and thousands of miles of hard-surfaced road. (6) We have markets both at home and abroad. Our





population has high standards of living and demands high-grade manufactured goods in many forms that the common people of Europe have never had.

717. Science and manufacturing. We have seen how much modern science helps agriculture (§707). It is just as useful to manufacturing. Until 1880 manufacturers worked largely by "hit or miss" plans or by imitation, but that day is gone. Now the manufacturer uses the very best methods and the best machinery to be had. The universities and technical schools prepare young men to be managers and superintendents, but they do more than this. All the colleges operating under the Morrill Act, and many others, have big laboratories and experimental stations as well as shops. Here young men study materials of which manufactures are made. They learn the nature of the materials and how they can best be used.



A SCIENTIFIC LABORATORY

Manufacturers have found that it pays to keep trained scientists at work in their factories. They are trying to improve the product as well as to make it cost less.

718. Direct production. In the pioneer stage of our life there was very little exchange of goods between communities at a distance from one another. The people of every neighborhood grew their crops and raised cattle, sheep, hogs, and poultry. They sheared the sheep, spun the yarn, wove and dyed the cloth, and made the garments. They butchered the cattle, tanned the hides, and made their own shoes and harness. They cut down trees and made their carts, plows, and buildings. They salted their meats and baked their bread. They dug the clay and made the bricks they used. About the only articles not produced in the immediate neighborhood of the early settlers were iron, salt, gunpowder, coffee, and spices. These articles they got from peddlers. Not much money was to be seen.

Now what was the reason for this state of affairs?



THE OLD WAY OF MENDING SHOES

for this state of affairs? It was the lack of roads and means of transportation. Each group had to produce its own goods. There was no other way. To the people of today who live in comfort with the products of the whole world brought to their doors, the life of that time seems extremely hard and poor. It was the time of direct production.

719. Indirect production. Let us look at pro-

duction as it is carried on today. In the old days there were only a few distinct occupations, now there are

thousands. The work is so divided that each producer is expected to know only one trade and to work at that.

The farmer raises crops and grows live stock; the carpenter builds houses; the printer sets type; the tailor makes clothes; the baker makes bread; the tanner prepares the hide. Each man follows his



THE NEW WAY OF MENDING SHOES

trade, develops skill and speed, and exchanges his product for those of the other producers. The result is that each one gets a larger quantity and a better quality of goods than he had when he tried to produce all these different articles for himself. The growth of this system of exchange depends chiefly upon two things: a constantly increasing supply of money and the growth of the means of transportation.

When we compare the life of today with the life of the frontier in this matter of occupations, we see the enormous influence of good country roads, railroads, and waterways upon our industry. Today we live in an era of indirect production. Hardly anybody produces all the things he uses, but by producing for others he gets the things he wants.

720. Division of labor. Indirect production or division of labor is carried far in the modern factory. Each workman has just one thing to do. For instance, in a shoe factory there are men who do nothing but run

stitching machines, but there are half a dozen kinds of stitching to be done, so there are half a dozen stitchers, each one running his own peculiar kind of machine. Some run buttonhole machines, others punch holes for eyelets, and still others run machines that put in hooks. In all there are over one hundred different operations on a shoe, each performed by a different worker. Another illustration of the division of labor is a butcher's gang in a meat-packing plant. It is estimated that thirty men are used in cutting up an animal, each man doing just one kind of work.

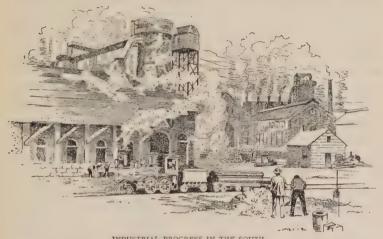
721. Use of machines. Division of labor depends upon the use of machines. They have become the most important feature of modern industry. Indeed the present time is often called "the era of machine production." Machines are used because they save human labor; they give a bigger output of goods at a lower cost.²⁵⁷

Our leading position in manufacturing is due largely to the readiness of the manufacturers to use machines and division of labor in their factories.

- 722. Geographical distribution. An industrial map of the United States shows that most of the factories are in the region east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio and Potomac. The ten states leading in manufacturing rank as follows: New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Michigan, Indiana, California, and Wisconsin. Of these, each of the first six produces goods worth more than a billion dollars a year. New York's products run up to over three billion dollars a year.
- 723. The Pacific coast. The Pacific coast is so far from the manufacturing centers of the East that the people on the coast have been compelled largely to develop their own factory system. They have made a good start,

California ranking ninth and Washington twenty-third among the states.

724. The South. The southern people, too, are beginning to build factories. Alabama has a large iron and steel business. It centers at Birmingham, where the essentials of iron manufacturing, coal, iron ore, and limestone, are found near together. 258 North Carolina, South



INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS IN THE SOUTH

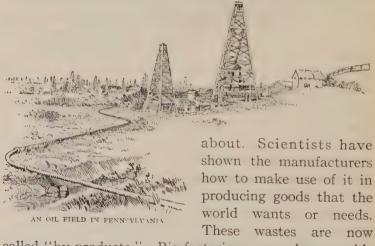
Carolina, and Georgia are now manufacturing a large part of their cotton product. They formerly sent it to New England to be turned into cloth. The value of cotton goods made in these states in 1910 was more than four times as great as in 1880.

725. Further localization. It is interesting to note that factories engaged in the same kind of industry try to collect around some one city. This is often due to the fact that the industry got started there in the first place and that new factories afterward located there to get the use of trained labor. Thus Chicago is the great

meat-packing center; New York City, the ready-made clothing center; Troy, New York, makes most of our collars and cuffs; Philadelphia leads in carpet making. Detroit is widely known in connection with automobile manufacturing.

726. How the cities rank. The census says that in the value of their manufactured goods our big cities rank as follows: New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, St. Louis, Cleveland, Boston, Buffalo, Pittsburgh, and Milwaukee. This counts only the production inside the city limits. If the count were extended to the district around each city, the ranking would probably be different.

727. By-products. In some industries there is naturally a good deal of waste. Until 1880 little effort was made to find uses for this waste. Manufacturers looked upon it as a nuisance and burned it or dumped it in a nearby river. Since that time a great change has come



called "by-products." Big factories are much more able than small ones to take care of their by-products.

A good illustration of the use of by-products is found in the cotton manufacturing industry. Formerly the seed, when it was separated from the fiber, was thrown away. Now the hull of the seed is used for ten different purposes, among which are stock feed, fertilizer, fuel, packing, and explosives. The meat of the seed, treated in various ways, yields no fewer than forty commercial products; among these are fertilizers, dyestuff, stock feed, cooking oil, and oils used in glycerin, candles, washing powder, soap, linoleum, and oilcloth. Another illustration of the use of by-products is in the refining of petroleum. That business was established to produce kerosene, but now some of the by-products are more important than the original main product. In this group are gasoline, benzine, naphtha, lubricating oils, paraffin, and asphalt. A few of the many other byproducts of petroleum are coke, dve stuffs, tar, and vaseline.

- 728. Slaughtering and meat packing. The slaughtering and meat packing industry centered at Cincinnati until about 1860. In that year Chicago took first place, a position it still holds. Large plants are located at Kansas City, Omaha, and Oklahoma City. There is a minute division of labor in these plants, and by-products are carefully looked after. The refrigerator car is an important part of this business; ²⁵⁹ by means of it fresh meats are sent all over the country.
 - 729. Iron and steel. It would be a hopeless task to try to count all the uses of iron and steel. When we think of railroads, locomotives, stoves, machines of numberless kinds, saws, tools, hardware, barbed wire, structural iron and steel, firearms, and steamships, we see how true is the saying that this is the "iron age." This industry

centered at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, in the early days because the coal, iron ore, and limestone were found



SOUTHERN COTTON MILL

there. The Pittsburgh district has always retained first place. Other manufacturing districts that have been developed are the Birmingham, Alabama, district; the Ohio district, around Cleveland and Youngstown; and the Chicago district, including South Chicago and Joliet, Illinois, and Gary, Indiana. A wonderful system of water and rail transportation brings the ore from the Lake Superior region to these manufacturing plants.²⁶⁰

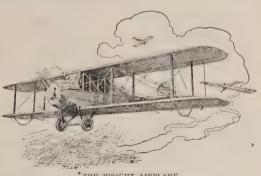
Scientists have studied the nature of this metal until they have invented processes of producing different kinds of steel goods for different purposes. Between 1899 and 1914 the value of the product in this industry almost trebled, the number of workers employed rising from 745,000 to 1,061,000.

730. Cotton goods. New England was the early home of cotton manufactures (§277). It still leads all other sections. This is largely because of the labor situation. New England has a dependable labor supply, while the South is hampered in this respect. The negro does not make a good machine tender, and the supply of white labor in the South is limited. In spite of this handicap, the South has recently made good progress in establishing mills to manufacture the cotton she raises (§724).

THE AGE OF INVENTIONS

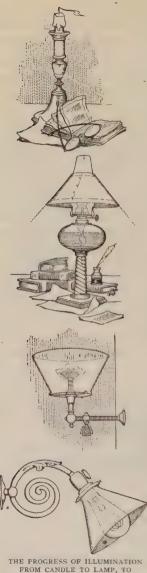
731. The inventor. The inventor, knowing of some need of society, tries to create a machine or device that will satisfy that need. Thomas Edison saw the need of a small electric light for use in offices and homes. He made hundreds of experiments and at last found that a little strip of bamboo was what he wanted. He turned this into charcoal, put it in a glass bulb from which the air was exhausted, and connected it with an electric battery. He had invented the incandescent lamp.

Wilbur and Orville Wright of Dayton, Ohio, knew that the world needed flying machines. They worked patiently for vears, solving problem after problem, until



WRIGHT AIRPLANE

they realized that all they needed was a high-speed They built such an engine, and on gasoline engine.



FROM CANDLE TO LAMP, TO GAS, TO ELECTRICITY

December 17, 1903, made a successful flight. The problem of flying had been solved.

After the original invention is made, inventors use it as a starting point for many improvements. Thus Edison's lamp has been developed into the hydrogentungsten lamp, and the Wright brothers' crude machine has grown into the fast scouting machine that darts across the sky at the rate of 120 miles an hour. Some inventions are accidental discoveries, but most of them are the result of long, patient study.261

732. Patents. Our government has always felt the importance of encouraging inventors. In 1790 our first patent law was passed. It was largely the work of Thomas Iefferson. He is called "the father of the patent system." By the patent law the government gives an inventor the sole right to manufacture and sell his invention for seventeen years. Of course he can sell this right if he wishes to.

Americans lead all the world in invention. The year 1918 saw almost forty thousand patents issued, while since 1790 they number over a million and a quarter.

733. Inventions since the Civil War. It would be useless to try to mention even the most important inventions of the last fifty years, but we may name a few of them. In the field of electricity there is the electric light, the telephone, the electric street car and interurban, the wireless telephone and telegraph, and the X-ray. Electric power made at central stations is sent out over wires to factories to run machines, and electric locomotives pull long freight trains across the Rockies. Then we have the moving-picture machine, the fountain pen, the phonograph, the airbrake for railroad cars, the typewriter, the automobile, and the many wonderful machines now used on farm and in factory. Any student can think of many others.

SUGGESTED READINGS

References for teachers: Bassett, Short History, 478, 470, 665, 679, 680, 685-680, 690, 748, 818-821; Bishop and Keller, Industry and Trade: Bogart, Economic History, chaps. xxviii, xxxii; Galpin, Rural Life; Day, A History of Commerce.

References for pupils: Wheeler, Thomas Edison; Rocheleau, Geography of Commerce and Industry; Sanford, The Story of Agriculture in the United States; Weed, Farm Friends and Farm Focs; Gibson, The Romance of Modern Manufacturing; Hodge, Nature Study and Life; Darrow, The Boy's Own Book of Great Inventions; James, Readings in American History, no. 103.

PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS .

1. Topic, "How we can build up trade with South America."
2. Write an argument in favor of a ship subsidy. 3. Imagine yourself an apple grower in Kansas. Tell of your fight with the enemies of your apple trees. 4. Do you think a state should go into the elevator business? Topic, "State-owned elevators in North Dakota."
5. Compare the conveniences of the farmer's life today with what it was fifty years ago. 6. Topic, "What would the world be without steel?"

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE WORLD WAR

AMERICA FINDS IT HARD TO BE NEUTRAL

734. The explosion. The great majority of our people were looking forward to a long time of peace when the year 1914 came in. Suddenly in the summer the greatest war in history broke out. The war was the greatest if we think of the number of nations fighting, the number of men killed, the amount of property destroyed, and the difficulty of settling its problems.

735. The immediate causes. In June the Archduke Ferdinand, heir to the throne of Austria, was killed by a bomb. This was the spark that set the world on fire. Austria held Serbia responsible and immediately made demands on her to which no nation could submit. Germany, with the largest and best trained army in the world, backed up Austria. Russia stood behind Serbia; and France was ready to support Russia; Turkey and Bulgaria later came into the war on the side of Germany.

Just before the crisis England appealed to Germany to stop her war preparations, but she refused. In a few days vast crowds of German soldiers were sweeping into Belgium, aiming at the heart of France—Paris.

736. The effects of Germany's violation of Belgian neutrality. Belgium is a small state, and the great nations of Europe had taken a solemn pledge never to attack her. When Germany broke that pledge, Great Britain jumped to Belgium's defense, and to her own, too, for everybody saw that England would be the next victim if Germany succeeded in crushing France.

The British army, not large, joined the French, and they drove the Germans back in the first Battle of the Marne. The British navy, the largest in the world, swept German commerce from the seas and bottled up the German navy in German waters. Only the crafty German submarines could slip out from their hiding places in the North Sea and menace the British and French fleets.

In Eastern waters Japan joined the cause of the Allies, and a bit later Italy threw herself into the war against the Germans and Austrians.

737. America declares herself neutral. The people of the United States were in a hard place. They had come from the very nations now fighting. How could they be neutral although President Wilson sent out his appeal to them to treat the warring countries in a friendly manner? How could they when they saw fathers, brothers, or other kindred falling in battle? The American government might be neutral, but the American people were not neutral in their feelings.

738. Why America found it difficult to be neutral. The nations at war influenced their friends in America to make sentiment for them.

Just as in the time of the Napoleonic Wars (§289), the trade of the world fell to America. American merchants seized the opportunity. They not only carried immense quantities of food and clothing to England and France, but turned their shops and foundries to making shot, shells, guns, cannon, airplanes, and other things used in war. None of these munitions went to Germany because the British fleet controlled the sea.

Friends of Germany objected to our helping her enemies. But America had a right to trade with the nations

at war and could hardly give up this trade to please Germany. In fact, in a way it would have been a blow at the Allies to have done so. America was ready at any time to trade with Germany. She did trade with the "Deutschland," a German submarine which came to America.

739. America protests to England and to Germany. In spite of the fact that we were sending millions in trade to England she searched our ships for letters, papers, and other things intended for Germany. The United States protested against England's acts.

But the acts of Germany were worse than England's. Her submarines sank passenger ships without attempting to save the passengers. On May 7, 1915, a German submarine shocked the world by sinking a giant English passenger ship, the "Lusitania," with many on board. Over one hundred of the victims were American citizens. Within a short time a number of ships were sent to the bottom of the sea, some of them belonging to America.

President Wilson warned Germany and demanded that she settle for the damage done. But Germany simply expressed "regret" that American lives had been lost. Another protest was immediately sent, declaring that the United States would be compelled to cease friendly relations if the sinking of merchant ships was not stopped. Germany then promised to save American citizens in case she needed to sink passenger ships.

740. Rise of a war sentiment in America. A year had passed since the sinking of the "Lusitania." A powerful sentiment in favor of war was growing up in America. The demand arose that the United States should increase its army and navy. But the government at Washington gave little heed to this cry for preparation for war.²⁶³

- 741. Presidential campaign of 1916. When the Democrats of 1916 faced their declaration in favor of one term for president, they were silent. They nominated Wilson for a second term. The Republicans and Progressives met in Chicago at the same time. Roosevelt was nominated by the Progressives, and Hughes by the Republicans. Roosevelt withdrew in favor of Hughes, a former governor of New York where he had fought the bosses as Roosevelt had done. Hughes resigned from the Supreme Court to make the race. The Socialists and Prohibitionists both had candidates in the field. With the practical union of the Progressive and Republican parties again, the race became a close one.
- 742. The issues and the result. The issues of the campaign were not many. The Republicans asserted that the Democrats had practically refused to protect American citizens in Mexico and on the high seas. They declared that Wilson had sacrificed the nation's honor to keep out of war. Hughes attacked the manner of putting through the claims of the railroad men for eight hours' work a day. The Democrats pointed to Wilson's record and took pride in the fact that "he kept us out of war." This was a favorite slogan of the Wilson men.

The election itself was full of interest. Wilson won in 1912 with fewer votes of the people than Taft and Roosevelt. His vote in the Electoral College was larger than both of theirs. Wilson won in 1916 by over four hundred thousand votes of the people, the largest majority ever given a Democratic president. His majority of electoral votes was very small.

743. America breaks with Germany. Early in the year 1917 Germany sent the United States word that she proposed to break the power of Great Britain by a

wide-spread submarine attack. She offered to give the United States free passage for one passenger ship a week to one port in England. What was to become of our millions and millions of trade going to England?

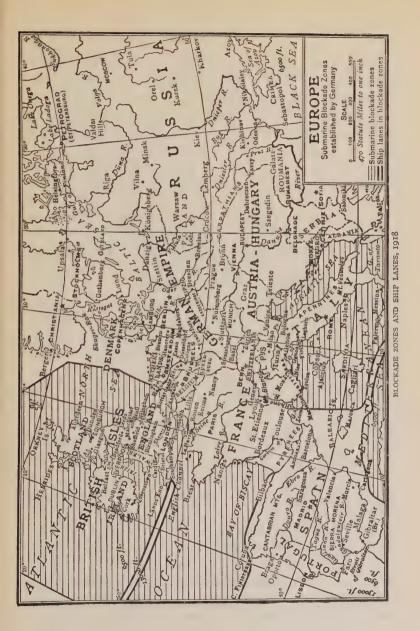
President Wilson immediately ordered the German ambassador to leave the country and recalled our ambassador from Germany. Germany was as good as her word: she sank over two hundred ships in February alone. Among these were American ships carrying American citizens. These acts were stirring up the war feeling.

744. Germans plotting in America. From the very first the people of the United States suffered at the hands of German plotters. Germany had hired agents to stir up trouble among our laboring men and to blow up our factories engaged in turning out munitions. Other agents were paid to put bombs secretly on vessels carrying war material to the Allies. Newspaper men received German gold for setting the cause of Germany before the American people in a good light. So dangerous had these agents become that President Wilson demanded the recall of the Austrian ambassador before the break with Germany.

Early in January, 1917, the German minister to Mexico got word from Germany to offer to restore the states of Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona to Mexico. All this was to come about providing Mexico would join Japan in a war on the United States.

745. Germany long in preparing. For nearly forty years Germany had been getting ready for war. Every man in the country had been trained in arms, and just before the war broke out she had nine hundred thousand men in her active army.

Besides, she had vast storehouses full of ammunition. She had manufactured thousands upon thousands of



machine guns and had more cannon than all of the Allies put together. Germany had prepared many deadly things forbidden by the rules of war, poison gas, great balloons for hurling bombs on unprotected cities, and submarines for sinking unarmed passenger ships.

But worse still Germany's military men had written books glorifying war. The German people had their minds poisoned by such books.

746. The Kaiser a ruler by divine right. Why did Germany find it so hard to get on with us, a friendly nation? Why did she fill this country with spies and paid agents? Simply because the Kaiser trusted no nation, no matter how friendly.

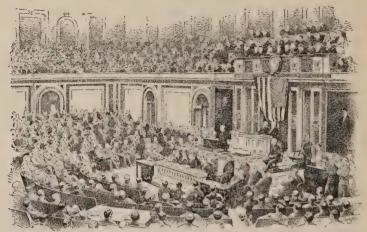
The Kaiser claimed to rule Germany by divine right just as James I did England a long time ago (§6).264 The Kaiser was an autocrat whose wish was law. It was dangerous in Germany to criticize him. But many thousands of the German people were opposed to him because he had so much power as the head of the army and navy. He influenced the schools to teach how much stronger and better the German race was than any other. Many Germans had come to believe that no nation could beat them in war. To make his power more secure the Kaiser's picture was placed in an important position in every public school; the pupils were taught that their first duty was to obey him.

747. The Kaiser dreams of world power. Before this Kaiser came to the throne, the German rulers began attacking the nations around them. They took a part of Denmark (1864); Austria was the next victim (1866); France fell into the trap and lost Alsace-Lorraine in the Franco-Prussian War (1870-71).



With the present Kaiser on the throne, activity of another kind began. Now German influence began to extend itself out into the world. Germany obtained colonies in Africa. She established posts in China,

planned and schemed in South America and Mexico. She planted business houses in all parts of the world.



PRESIDENT WILSON ADDRESSES CONGRESS

She had already begun to build a great navy, second only to Great Britain's. In this way the Kaiser won the support of the big business men in Germany.

The Kaiser encouraged friendship and marriage with the smaller nations to the eastward. He even visited Turkey and made friends with the Turks. It began to be whispered about that the time was coming when the Berlin-Bagdad railroad, connecting Germany with the East, would be a real thing.

England feared that Germany was aiming at India. With the largest and best trained army in the world and a growing navy there seemed no limit to the Kaiser's ambition, except the British navy.

AMERICA AND THE ALLIES MAKE WAR TOGETHER

748. The United States joins the Allies in the war (April 6, 1917). President Wilson went before Congress

and repeated in telling words the wrongs that Germany had done, not only against the United States but against the civilized world. He declared that "vessels of every kind, whatever their flag, the character of their cargo, their destination, their errand, have been ruthlessly sent to the bottom without warning." Germany had already attacked us, he said, and hence he only asked Congress to declare that Germany was making war upon us.

On April 6, Congress, amid a crowded house, sent forth the decree that threw America on the side of the Allies. Hundreds of pacifists and pro-Germans had gathered in Washington to prevent this declaration, but their work was in vain. It should be said, however, that thousands of Americans whose parents were German were loyal to America.

749. Not the government alone but the people go to war. Since the war opened, thousands of Americans had been taking part in it, some as soldiers in the Canadian



RED CROSS WORKERS

army, others as nurses under the Red Cross, and many as helpers in preparing bandages and in giving money.

Now all the people went in:265 millions as soldiers; millions of farmers organized to raise more food; millions of women joined the Red Cross to prepare bandages, knit socks and sweaters; and other thousands volunteered to go to the hospitals at the front.

The doctors, too, organized and went to the front to care for the wounded on the field of battle and in the hospitals.

Ministers of the gospel volunteered to go with the boys to advise them on moral and religious questions. The Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A., the Salvation Army, the Hebrew Association, and the Knights of Columbus went into the war to do their part.

The business and professional men in every city and town organized to give aid. There was, therefore, no class or party in America which did not throw itself into the war with all its power, except the radicals. The Socialist party declared itself opposed to the war, but it split in two as a result.

THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT IN THE WAR

- 750. The government had to do everything at once. Americans have always stood for peace and opposed war. Never in our history have we been prepared for war when it came. We were less prepared than ever for this war, if one thinks of what had to be done. Hence we say, the "government had to do everything at once."
- 751. Congress voted men and money. Congress voted almost every measure to carry on the war that the President asked for. We soon had a part of our navy in European waters helping to fight the submarines. But we needed to build all sorts of ships—submarines, submarine chasers, dreadnaughts, superdreadnaughts, vessels to carry soldiers, and ships to carry food and guns.

Airships for fighting had to be built by the thousands. We knew how to make airships to sail the air, but to make them to carry bombs and guns was a new problem. We were a bit slow in getting American airships ready.

American inventors went to work to improve machine guns, big guns, tanks, and airplane engines. Some entirely new devices like the depth bomb, used in fighting submarines, were invented.

752. Raising an army. How shall we get our millions of men prepared to fight? 266 "Volunteers make the finest



A TRAINING CAMP IN THE UNITED STATES

soldiers," said those who remembered the Civil War. But the government decided on a more democratic way—the "selective draft." Congress ordered all men between twenty and thirty-one to appear before "war-boards." These boards selected those who were physically fit and sent them to training camps in different parts of the country. Later all between the ages of eighteen and forty-five were summoned.

An army of carpenters was at work building the training camps, which looked like little cities. Here the boys drilled many hours each day. Those who could not speak the English language were put in schools where they soon got a start in education. The other boys



A Y. M. C. A. HUT AT ONE OF THE U. S. A. CAMPS

were busy with athletics of every kind or attending entertainments given by lectures, by motion pictures, or even attending theaters. On Sunday they had an opportunity to hear great preachers. The purpose of this was to keep the boys "fit" physically and to keep up their spirits.

753. Pershing goes to France. While the boys were being trained, General Pershing was sent to France with twenty-five thousand men who had seen service on the borders of Mexico (§601). How happy the French people were to see the splendid-looking American soldiers! These boys were just a vanguard of the millions yet to come.

It made the French people think of the time, long ago, when they gave Lafayette (\$208), De Kalb (\$213), and Rochambeau (\$233) with thousands of soldiers to aid in the American Revolution.

754. Congress gives the President power over the railroads, telegraph, coal mines, and food supply. The President put the railroads under the control of Secretary

McAdoo, who immediately cut out trains, combined roads, and gave trains carrying munitions, food supplies, and troops the right of way. Everything else had to wait.

It was necessary for the government to control the carrying of food, clothes, munitions, and soldiers to the coast. Our allies needed these things badly. Germany had been pressing them hard for three years, and their soldiers were wearing out.

Harry A. Garfield, president of Williams College, was given charge of the coal supply. He sent the coal where it was most needed and for a short time closed all factories and other places of business not doing work necessary for the war.

Herbert C. Hoover, who had control of the food sent to Europe for starving people, was given authority over our food supplies. He ordered wheatless and meatless days for the table. Housewives had a busy time furnishing their tables with "war-bread." But the great majority of women did their part.

755. How the government obtained money to run the war. In the Civil War the government asked the people for millions of money, but in this war it called for billions. In the first place the government raised billions of money by increasing taxes. It put a heavy tax on incomes of men who had plenty of money or other property. It taxed heavily the profits of industry.

Secondly, it raised billions more by borrowing from the people. To make the loan very democratic the government issued bonds as small as fifty dollars. To encourage the young people to loan their money to the government, it sold War Savings Stamps.

756. What the government did with these billions.
(1) It loaned \$10,000,000,000 to the Allies, who were

really fighting our battles until we could get men ready.
(2) It took large sums to pay the soldiers, the sailors, the



men working in the shipyards, and in the camps.

The government raised over \$30,000,000,000 from all sources. This great sum our people must pay in taxes. Only those who bought bonds and Thrift Stamps will ever get any of this money back.

757. The desperate situation on the western front.
Russia had broken down and her soldiers were going home.
The Germans were rushing soldiers from the Russian

front for a last desperate drive on Paris before the American army could reach France. This was in the spring and summer of 1918.

A desperate call came for American soldiers to aid in saving Paris. Only a few hundred thousand had reached France. The others were still training in American camps.

Foch, a great French general, was given control over the Allied troops in March. Before there had been three armies: Belgian, British, and French. Now these fought as one man.²⁶⁷ This change came none too soon, for in March the Germans began their last great effort. The whole Allied world was anxious lest the Germans should break through the British line. The line wavered, but the French came. The fighting was desperate, but the city of Amiens, a great railroad center, was saved.

In a few days the Germans struck at the French line, which likewise was driven back but finally held.

The Germans met a new foe, the Americans. The first soldiers sent over were placed among British and French veterans to get used to the new ways of fighting. These men, with the Second Division, at Château-Thierry helped to block the last advance of the Germans toward Paris.

758. Rushing troops to France. The need was desperate. The Allies were calling loudly early in 1918, although we were sending fifty thousand men each month

But when the last mighty effort of the Germans threatened to carry them to Paris and to the English Channel, our troops had to be rushed over. But where were the ships to carry the men? "They cannot be found," said

the Germans.
"Besides, how can
the Americans get
over in the face of
our submarines?
And then the
Americans are not
good soldiers, for
they have been
trained for only
a short time."

Ships seemed to come from everywhere. We seized nearly one hun-



LAUNCHING NEW SHIPS

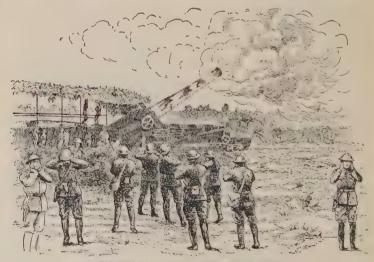
dred German vessels in our ports. We rented ships from neutral nations. England gave us some and the other Allies a few, and we added some new ships which we had built.²⁶⁸ To meet the crisis our allies were willing to turn

ships carrying food to Europe into ships to carry our soldier boys.

War vessels guarded the ships carrying our men so that no submarines dared come near them. The depth bomb was the terror of the submarine!

Ten thousand soldiers reached France every day in July, 1918, and by the first of November we had sent more than two million men to France.

759. The Allied counter-drive brings victory. In the summer the Americans formed a separate army under General Pershing. Foch was now ready to strike back with all the power of the united armies (July 18). One blow after another fell rapidly on the Germans. The German line was broken in many places, and mighty guns roared from the shores of the North Sea to Switzerland.



A BIG GUN IN ACTION ON THE FRENCH FRONT

The American marines²⁶⁹ had already covered themselves with glory at Belleau Wood, and now the American



THE WESTERN FRONT

soldiers won a brilliant victory at St. Mihiel. There five hundred thousand Americans met the best troops Germany had, captured sixteen thousand of them, and went smashing through their lines.

But in the Argonne Forest was fought the biggest battle Americans ever took part in. Over a million men



in khaki fought like heroes for over a month. They drove the Germans recling back toward the Rhine.²⁷⁰ The British and French had been hurling back the Germans, too. The German people could not believe the news of defeat.

760. Trouble in Germany. The work of the British and American navies had been choking the life out of Germany. Her people were hungry and tired of fighting. They threatened to rise in revolt.

Austria had been urging Germany to make peace, for she had been defeated by the Italians. Bulgaria (September 30) and Turkey (October 31) had quit fighting. Austria, too, ceased fighting (November 3).

All at once, in November, came the news of a threatened revolution on the part of the German people. Next, the Kaiser had fled to Holland.²⁷¹ This was Germany's situation when she asked Foch for terms of an armistice.

761. The terms given to Germany. The German generals came blindfolded to Foch's camp, while the Allied guns were booming all along the battle line.

On November 11, Foch agreed to the following terms: The Germans were to quit Belgium and France, and the Allies were to occupy that part of Germany west of the Rhine. The Germans were to surrender most of their cannon, machine guns, airplanes, locomotives, freight cars, warships, submarines, and merchant ships to the Allies.

The common man was on top in Germany. Thus the last great stronghold of aristocracy had gone down before democracy.

The guns now ceased to roar, and the world looked on a broken and torn Europe.

762. What the war cost in men. The number of men killed in the war staggers the imagination. More than seven million men fell in battle and twice as many were wounded. More than a hundred thousand American boys lost their lives, and many times as many were wounded.

The most of these men were young and strong of body. What a mighty loss the world suffered! It appears even greater when we remember the millions of widows and orphans the war made. The cost of this war is



gigantic when to all this loss we add the suffering in mind and body that the war caused.

763. The cost in money and property. The money cost of the war no man knows. We can say the nations spent over \$200,000,000,000. How much is this? The mind staggers at its size.

But this is not all: the sinking of ships and cargoes, the destruction of hundreds of villages and cities, the tearing up of acres and acres of farm lands and their growing crops, the destruction of the mines and factories of Belgium and France make a loss that is unthinkable.

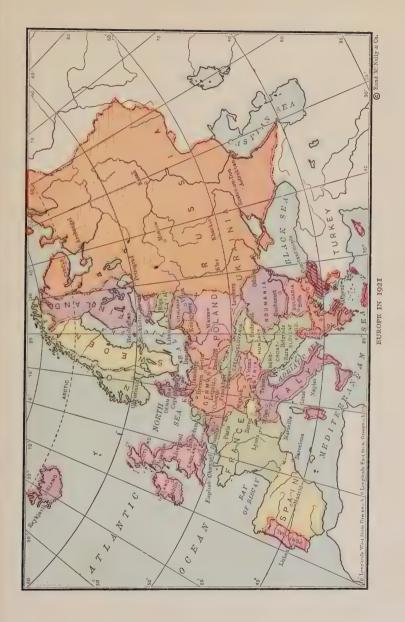
War is certainly an awful thing, but if this World War saved to the people the right to rule themselves as they wish, the price paid was not too great.

AMERICA AFTER THE WAR

764. The making of peace. The men appointed by the Allies met in a suburb of Paris, called Versailles. President Wilson journeyed to Europe, and was warmly received by all the people because they were happy that America came into the war and because the common people felt that Wilson stood for democracy.

Largely through Wilson's influence the League of Nations was made a part of the treaty of peace. These men worked until June, 1919, in getting the treaty ready. The Germans were then called to sign it. They did sign it under great protest. They said the treaty was too hard on Germany. She had to give up Alsace-Lorraine and all her colonies; she had to reduce her army to a hundred thousand men and agree not to train soldiers as in former years; she must not build up a great navy as before; she must pay enormous sums of money to Belgium and France.

765. The League of Nations. The first purpose of the League was to make war forever impossible.

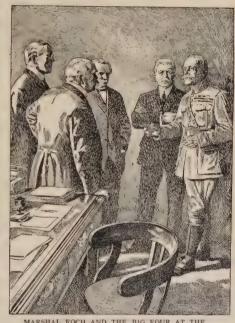




This League is given the power to shut off all commerce with a nation which goes to war. It may even use force,

if necessary, to prevent war. To encourage peace each nation belonging to the League pledges itself to cut down its army and navy and to submit disputes with another nation to a grand court made up of the great judges of different nations. If any nation violates its pledge, it can be expelled from the League.

766. The Senate fails to ratify the treaty. After he



MARSHAL FOCH AND THE BIG FOUR AT THE PEACE CONFERENCE

returned President Wilson called a number of senators to the White House to talk over the treaty. The Senate opposed the treaty, because it did not like the League part of it.

President Wilson resolved to go on a speaking tour in defense of the League. He went as far as the Pacific, but on the return journey he suffered a stroke which made it impossible for him to speak further.

The battle went on in the Senate, but finally the question of the League was left to become the main topic of debate in the campaign of 1920.

767. The economic and industrial effects of the war on America. The war tore the industry of the world to pieces. In America it set thousands of men and women to work in munition factories, in machine shops making instruments of war, in factories for producing airplanes, in shipyards for building new kinds of ships, in training camps building huts for the soldiers, and in many other new works. Not only were the men in strange shops making strange things, but they were working for wages greater than they had ever received before.

Thousands of men were taken out of their usual lines of work. This made labor scarce in these lines of work, and wages went still higher. The want of labor caused a shortage in living supplies of all kinds and in turn caused prices to rise higher.

The government issued millions of paper money. This disturbed prices again, and they soared still higher. The workingman called for a higher wage after the war. When he did not get it he struck. There was an era of high prices, extravagance, and profiteering. The fall in prices did not begin until September, 1920.

768. The great strike era (1919-20). In many industries it was almost impossible for wages to increase as fast as prices. In many cases workmen had agreed to work for a time at certain wages. But prices were still rising, and the men were not satisfied with their old wages.

The workmen in New York City engaged in loading and unloading ships went on a strike. Ships could not be unloaded. Many of them carried perishable products, and the loss was great.

The steel workers struck and tried to stop the making of steel. They demanded shorter hours and more pay. Rioting occurred in some places, and General Wood was called with troops to keep order.

President Wilson appointed a committee made up of strikers, the steel owners, and the public. These men met to patch up the difficulty, but could not agree on any terms of settlement.

The strike ran on, but the people got the impression that the strikers were under the influence of radical leaders. The result was the failure of the strike after the strikers had lost millions in wages.

The strike of the soft-coal workers had an entirely different ending. The courts were appealed to and ordered the men back to work, for winter was on, and the loss in business was very great, and the suffering of the people threatened to be widespread. But the strikers finally went to work.

A committee appointed by the President made an examination of the coal situation and finally decided on an increase in wages thought just to the miners, to the mine owners, and to the public. The people, as a rule, must pay every increase in the cost of mining coal or in the cost of producing anything else.

769. The effort to control high prices (1920). The government, in going suddenly into a war for which little preparation had been made, was compelled to pay high prices for everything it needed. As the government was one of the first causes of high prices, so it undertook to control the high cost of living. It did this by investigating prices and by arresting and trying certain men who were accused of selling goods at prices unusually high in a time of high prices. Some men were found guilty and fined. But it was believed that this did not have much effect in lowering prices.

MORAL AND SOCIAL EFFECTS OF THE WAR

770. Effects on the churches. The war tended to bring the churches together. The news of how their members, wounded and dying, were cared for by men of different faiths roused a warm sympathy for one another among the different religious denominations. The result was that some genuine efforts were made for coöperation among churches of widely different beliefs.

The churches resolved to widen their field of work. To do this it became necessary to collect vast sums of money. The Methodist church was the first in the field and succeeded in pledging over \$100,000,000. Other churches followed, and each obtained more than it set out for.

With this money the churches propose to give strength to weak churches; take better care of the country churches; encourage the city churches to carry on home missions on a greater scale; build gymnasiums for the young people of the church and neighborhood; and finally widen the mission work in foreign fields. Almost every church in America has gone into the work of relieving distress in war-torn Europe. Some have even undertaken the task of restoring towns in the devastated regions.²⁷²

771. Growth of the movement for prohibition. At first growth in the sentiment for prohibiting the liquor traffic was slow indeed. We have seen its rise and fall (§§388, 522). Out of five states Maine alone remained steadfast. After the Civil War other states voted for prohibition, but only Kansas remained true.

But within the last ten years prohibition sentiment has been rapidly rising. By December, 1917, twenty-four states had gone dry. Congress passed laws prohibiting liquor in the District of Columbia and forbidding its being taken into a dry state.

War caused a rapid growth of sentiment in favor of temperance. Congress put the ban on whisky and decided that beer should not contain more than 2.75 per cent of alcohol. Finally Congress adopted the Eighteenth Amendment, and forty-five state legislatures ratified it. It thus became a part of the Constitution (1020).

In spite of the fact that prohibition has been written into the Constitution, there arose a considerable demand for the interpretation of the amendment which will give the right to manufacture beer and wine. This was one of the questions debated in the presidential campaign (1920).

772. The struggle for the rights of women. The World War, too, had its bearings on the question of woman suffrage, as we shall see.

Far back in the days of the American Revolution, one brave woman, the wife of John Adams, raised her voice for the rights of women (§239). A bit later New Jersey took action favorable for women (§240).

Growing out of the world-wide movement for moral reform (1830), the cause of woman took on new life and energy. Very few were the rights then belonging to woman. She could not go to school in either high school or college where men were. Factory work was open to her, but almost no other business or profession. If a woman with property married, her husband took over its control. She was shut out from becoming a lawyer, a doctor, or a preacher.

When a brave woman like Frances Wright of New York demanded that these privileges be granted to women, men poked fun at her; and women, too, were not slow to smile at her "queer notions."

773. The woman's movement grows. The abolition agitation caused a step forward in the new movement.

Some men saw that woman's help was needed in the anti-slavery cause (§407). Abraham Lincoln, a young man just then plunging into Illinois politics, declared he was in favor of everybody sharing the privileges of government, "by no means excluding the females" (1836).

The first national convention in favor of woman's rights was held in Seneca Falls, New York (1848). It was called by Lucretia Mott, Martha C. Wright, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Mary Ann McClintock. It tried to arouse the attention of the country by sending forth a "Declaration of Rights."

774. Rapid progress of woman's rights. Although the newspapers and writers still made fun of "petticoat" government, the "Declaration of Rights" won other women to their ranks. Among these were Margaret Fuller, Lucy Stone, Susan B. Anthony, and Julia Ward Howe.

With these new recruits and the help of the abolition leaders their hopes rose high. They were looking forward to the time when universal suffrage would prevail. But the Civil War came, and they saw their "brother in black" given the ballot which had been denied them.

775. First victories in the West. Disappointed by Congress, women now turned to the states. They had been encouraged to do this by what occurred in the new state of Kansas. The legislature had given women the right to vote in school elections (1861). The women organized a great state campaign for complete suffrage. It was an odd sight to see public meetings held by women in every sort of place in Kansas. They did not win, but they took courage from the size of their vote.

The West was their hope. In 1869 the territory of Wyoming granted women complete suffrage. When

Wyoming entered the Union, so well pleased had she been with the experiment that full suffrage was written into her state constitution.

In four more years Colorado joined Wyoming in favor of women. While Utah was still a territory, her men granted women this boon, and like Wyoming, when she became a state, Utah again established the right of women to vote. The fourth state to vote in favor of woman suffrage was Idaho, another mountain state (1896).

For fourteen years afterward, the many campaigns for woman's vote failed. The aggressive mountain states had nearly all been won for women; the other states were not yet ready.

In 1910–12 came a return wave in favor of woman's political rights. Washington began the movement (1910) which swept in California (1912), Oregon, Arizona, and Kansas (1913). These victories caused great rejoicing among the women. They were hardly done rejoicing when news came that far-away Alaska had placed herself under their banner and had granted suffrage to women. The next year Nevada and Montana came to their support (1914).

In 1917 they carried New York by over one hundred thousand majority. Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, North Dakota, and Nebraska gave the women the right to vote on certain questions. The movement seemed to be gaining great power, but some old states still held back.

776. The Susan B. Anthony Amendment. The amendment for woman suffrage, first introduced in 1878, was named for Miss Anthony, a famous suffragist living in Rochester, New York. It read: "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied by the United States or any state on account of sex."

For a long time there seemed little hope of the adoption of the amendment. The great progressive movement stirred public sentiment to its depths (1912), and the Progressive party stood for woman suffrage. In the campaign of 1916 Hughes, the Republican candidate, favored suffrage by national amendment, and Wilson, the Democratic, by state action.

777. Congress takes action. The great victories won by women opened the eyes of Congress, and the Lower House passed the Anthony Amendment on January 10, 1918. The Senate followed more tardily. The amendment went to the people of the various states for ratification. It could hardly fail, for woman in the war had proved her ability to take man's place in war work, as well as in many industries. The war could not have succeeded without her.



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But old prejudices die hard, and it was not until the campaign of 1920 that the thirty-sixth state voted in favor of the amendment and it became a part of the Constitution.

778. The 1920 campaign. Long before time for the nominating conventions the Republicans had several candidates in the field. Among these were General Wood, Governor Lowden of Illinois, Senator Johnson of

California, and Senator Harding of Ohio. The Democrats, too, had a number of candidates. Among them were

ex-Secretary McAdoo, Attorney-General Palmer, and Governor Cox of Ohio.

The Republicans met at Chicago, and after a hard battle nominated Harding of Ohio for president and Coolidge of Massachusetts for the vice-presidency. The Democrats went to San Francisco and nominated Cox for the first place and Assistant Secretary of Navy Roosevelt for the second place.

The main questions under debate in this campaign were as follows: the League of Nations, which most Republicans opposed and most Democrats supported; the question of prohibition, which both parties tried to avoid; and Wilson's administration. Republicans asserted that it had been wasteful and extravagant, and that President Wilson was an autocrat, while the Democrats stoutly denied the truth of these charges.

The Prohibitionists nominated a man from Ohio. This made the campaign unique in having three candidates from the same state. For the fourth time the Socialists nominated Eugene V. Debs.

The campaign was a very bitter one. It resulted in Harding's winning a larger majority over Cox in the people's vote and the electoral vote than has ever been given to any candidate.²⁷³

SUGGESTED READINGS

References for teachers: Bassett, History of the World War; World's Work, 1914–20; Review of Reviews, 1914–20; Independent, 1914–20; Outlook, 1914–20; Literary Digest, 1914–20; Current Events, 1914–20; Rose, Origins of the War; McMaster, The United States in the World War.

References for pupils: Powell, The Spirit of Democracy; Van Dyke, Fighting for France; Bott, Cavalry of the Clouds; Gibbons, And They Thought We Wouldn't Fight; O'Brien, Outwitting the Hun; Paine, The Fighting Fleets.

PROBLEMS AND PROJECTS

1. Imagine a familiar conversation with ex-President Roosevelt, one with ex-President Taft, and one with ex-President Wilson on the sinking of the "Lusitania." 2. Take a trip on a submarine. 3. Another in an airship. 4. Write about your experience in a tank battle. 5. Write a composition on your father's, mother's, sister's, or brother's part in the war.

THE APPENDIX

THE NOTES

1. If the pupils have read that charming little book, Old Europe and Young America, published by Rand McNally and Company, they

will need to read the next pages only by way of review.

2. How long an English village may be kept in one family by passing from father to son, may be seen in the fact that an English nobleman has recently sold his village (1918). This shows how long old customs will live.

3. Kings once believed that they ruled by "divine right." Afterwards they continued to make their people believe this. The last great ruler to fool his people thus was Kaiser William II, of Germany.

4. For hundreds of years the Turks held the Holy Land. They crossed into Europe and killed thousands of Christians. The Christians tried to wrest the Holy Land from the Mohammedans, but it remained for the British in the great World War to defeat the Turk and capture Palestine.

5. This was a happy mistake because there were few men in the world then bold enough to sail halfway around the earth even to find India. Columbus figured the distance was not more than 4,000 miles,

if he sailed west.

6. Sailors now know that the compass will vary a bit in some parts of the earth. But neither Columbus nor his sailors knew this. Columbus found it hard to invent an explanation that would satisfy his sailors.

7. Jealousy was the cause of his arrest. Queen Isabella set him

free.

8. Vespucius cannot be blamed for what others did. Columbus, however, has had his full share of honor. Poetry hails this country as the "Land of Columbia," and many towns and cities, a district, and

a university have taken his name.

9. The Mexicans and Peruvians had made more progress than any other Indians. It took long and hard fighting to conquer them. Peruvians had the llama to carry packs for them, but the Mexicans had no pack animal. These countries were rich in silver and poured millions into the lap of Spain.

10. De Soto wandered westward as far as Oklahoma and as far

north as southern Missouri, it is thought.

11. This name was given by Coronado to the buffalo or American

bison

12. The French king demanded to know whether "our first father, Adam, made them [Spain and Portugal] his sole heirs . . . and until I do, I shall feel at liberty to seize all the land in the New World I can get."

13. The leader of the Huguenots in France was Coligny. He won great fame as a soldier and received permission from the king of

France, a Catholic, to plant a colony in Florida.

14. The rivalry between Spain and England grew into a quarrel which marks a turning point in the history of the world. Both nations were proud and jealous. Then their religion was different, too. England was Protestant and Spain Roman Catholic. Englishmen were seeking trade everywhere in the world, and so was Spain. English sailors fell upon Spanish ships laden with gold and silver from Mexico

and Peru.

Holland and Spain had the same differences, except that Spain claimed the right to send governors to rule the Dutch. The governors were cruel, and the Dutch revolted. Then followed a long and bloody war. So desperate did the Spaniards become that they assassinated the Dutch leader, William the Silent. England then came to the help of the Dutch. The Spaniards were angrier at the English than ever and resolved to send the great Armada to punish England. The destruction of this great fleet "meant safety for England, freedom for the Dutch, and the decline of Spain." England went bravely forward with planting settlements in America.

15. The Iroquois were composed of the Mohawks, the Oneidas, the Onondagas, the Cayugas, and the Senecas. These made up the Five Nations. The Tuscaroras, driven from the South (1713), joined the Iroquois. After this these Indians were called the Six Nations.

16. The Spaniards kept a sharp eye on English settlements. How they felt about Englishmen occupying Virginia may be seen from a letter to the Spanish king written by the Spanish ambassador: "It will be serving God and your Majesty to drive these villains out from

there [Jamestown] and hang them."

17. Smith was captured by the Indians. Just as he was about to be killed, Pocahontas, the beautiful young daughter of the Indian chief, so the story runs, sprang to Smith's rescue and claimed him as her own. Pocahontas became the good angel to the colony, telling the settlers of Indian attacks and helping them find food. She married John Rolfe, and they visited friends in England. Pocahontas was received as an "Indian princess" by the king and queen. John Randolph of Roanoke, once a leader of the House of Representatives and a friend of Jefferson, was descended from Pocahontas. Mrs. Woodrow Wilson is also related to Pocahontas.

18. Each act named in this paragraph is an "old home" custom for which Englishmen had long struggled. The Virginians had tried many

new experiments in governing themselves but now were glad to get back to old English ways.

Here are some of the leading men trained for the great Revolution by the House of Burgesses: Washington, Jefferson, Richard Henry Lee, Patrick Henry, Edmund Pendleton, Benjamin Harrison, Richard Bland, Edmund Randolph, John Marshall, and George Mason.

chapter in English history (1603–88). James I and Charles I (1603–49) quarreled with Parliament over money and religion. James threw leaders of Parliament into prison and drove Puritans out of England. Charles quarreled with Parliament, dismissed it, and declared he would never call another. But the Scots saved the day. They invaded England because Charles was trying to force them to be Episcopalians. The King had to call Parliament to get money to fight. Parliament and King quarreled and went to war. Oliver Cromwell, the great Puritan general, overthrew the King's soldiers and thrust him into prison. Parliament tried and executed Charles I. Cromwell now became the head of the government. He was a stern, unyielding man, but a great soldier. His government was carried on mainly by common men. He showed what he could do. His soldiers were called "Ironsides." They often sang and prayed before going into battle.

After Cromwell died, Englishmen called Charles II to be king (1660). He was lazy and easy-going and ran the government deeply into debt. His brother, James II, succeeded him (1684). Neither king learned anything from the past. James turned tyrant. English people thought he was trying to make Englishmen into Catholics. They rose against him, and he fled to France. The revolution was short. William and Mary of Holland were called to the throne, and Parliament passed what was known as the Bill of Rights. The rights named in this document were claimed by Englishmen living in

America, as well as those in England (1689).

20. The Puritans settled the town of Annapolis, at first called Providence. When they got hold of Maryland's government, they removed the capital from Saint Mary's to Annapolis. We all know that here is located our great naval academy.

21. See note 19.

22. Carolina extended from Virginia to Florida and was named in honor of the King. The constitution was called the Grand Model. It was a grand failure. It planned to establish a kind of feudalism with all different classes of people.

23. The "pretenders" were descendants of James II. They claimed the right to rule in place of the Georges. The pretenders were

Roman Catholics, and so were some of the Scotch Highlanders.

24. In France Protestants were called Huguenots. They were followers of the great reformer, John Calvin. They were persecuted in France, and we have seen them trying to found a colony. Thousands of them were slain in the great Massacre of St. Bartholemew's Day.

Henry IV freed them from persecution, and they prospered. They were skilled in industry and had many learned men. Louis XIV did not like them, so he took away their freedom of worship. Thousands fled to Germany, to Holland, to England, and to America.

25. Do you know anyone whose ancestors came over in the "May-flower"? Find such a person and ask him about his ancestors. Myles Standish was not a Pilgrim, but had joined the Dutch when

they were fighting against Spain.

26. The Petition of Right was a famous landmark along the road to English liberty. It is only a bit less noted than Magna Charta. The King promised to obey Parliament. See note 19.

27. See note 19.

28. Roger Williams, a young Puritan preacher, was driven from England (1632). He preached in several towns in Massachusetts and stirred up the people by his doctrines. He did not worry over the effects of his doctrines, but leaders in the colony did.

Anne Hutchinson criticized the preachers and the officers of the colony. The men were divided in their opinions of her, but the

majority were against her.

Modern society does not agree with the Puritans that Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson were dangerous citizens.

29. See note 10.

30. This constitution did not mention the king, but only the people. It created a government. Magna Charta, the Bill of Rights, and the Mayflower Compact did not pretend to set up a government.

31. Java, Sumatra, and other islands still belong to Holland.

32. While Hudson was sailing up this river, Champlain was exploring the near-by lake which bears his name, and John Smith was trading for food with the Indians in Virginia.

33. This wall gave its name to Wall Street, now famous as the

money center of the United States.

34. The Navigation Acts were first aimed at the Dutch. These acts forbade them to trade with the English colonies. The Dutch were angry, and finally war broke out. Their great sea captain, Van Tromp, fastened a broom to his masthead and declared he would sweep England from the seas. But the English, too, were great sea fighters and forced the Dutch to make peace (1653). Cromwell was glad, for, like the Dutch, he was a Protestant, and England and Holland had long been friends. Charles II did not feel this way and seized the colony of New Amsterdam (1664).

35. This was done in honor of James, Duke of York and Albany.
36. The Bowery is the name of another famous New York street.

It is the home of poor people.

37. The soldiers of Gustavus went into battle singing and praying.

The Germans hold his name in grateful remembrance.

38. Penn stood at the parting of the ways. He could be a fine gentleman, belong in high society, and attend the king's court or he

could be a poor and despised Quaker. Banishment and jails could

not move him. He stood firm as a rock.

39. The names of persons such as Paul Revere, John Jay, Boudinot, Dabney, Laurens, and Sevier and of places such as Faneuil Hall, Debrosses Ferry, and New Rochelle remind people today of the debt owed to France since colonial times.

40. An interesting survival to our day is seen in the classes existing

among the servants in any community.

41. A common way of showing respect, which survives to our time, is the custom of lifting the hat to ladies. Gentlemen of equal rank in Germany lift the hat when they meet each other.

42. These rude ways of living were common on the frontier when

Lincoln was a boy.

43. Lawrence Washington, George's half-brother, spent a year or more in a London school. Between 1760 and 1765 a score or more of young men from Charleston went to England to attend school.

44. John Bartram, a poor boy, became an orphan at thirteen. He studied after his day's work was done. He founded in Philadelphia the first botanical garden in America. He wrote papers for European botanical societies. A friend said that Bartram would go one hundred miles to see a new plant.

45. Augustine Washington, father of George, was captain of a ship carrying iron ore from Virginia to London. There he had the happy fortune to fall in love with Mary Ball, called "the Rose of Epping Forest" on account of her beauty. She, too, was a Virginian, visiting

in London. They were married.

46. John Hancock of Boston, one of the richest men in the colo-

nies, gained his fortune largely by making rum.

47. At different times during the colonial period the southern colonies, through their legislatures, sent earnest protests to Parliament against dumping slaves upon them.

48. The Barbadoes and Jamaica were the leading English West

India islands.

49. Lord Chatham called them the Bible of the English Consti-

50. Two brothers of George Washington were members of the Ohio Company. Before this, George had gone across the Blue Ridge Mountains and surveyed the lands of his friend, Lord Fairfax. He had spent several years in this wild region and knew the ways of the Indian.

51. Before Braddock died, he saw his mistake. He gave his favorite servant, Bishop, to Washington. At Braddock's grave Washington read prayers. Washington himself had four bullets through his clothes

and a number of horses shot under him.

52. Longfellow's Evangeline is based on scenes connected with the

scattering of the Acadians.

53. The proof of this is found in the fact that Parliament paid back to the colonies \$5,000,000.

54. In a nook in Westminster Abbey may be seen the monument

erected by Massachusetts to the memory of General Howe.

55. The people of Canada, loving the names of both Wolfe and Montcalm, have erected a single monument to keep alive the memory of their heroic deeds.

56. James Otis, a Boston lawyer, carried the question to the courts. He resigned his office under the king to plead the cause of the merchants. He declared that "our ancestors and we, their descendants, are entitled to all the rights of the British Constitution." In this he struck the "keynote" of the first half of the Revolution.

George III had an excuse for using these writs, for the Americans were great smugglers. It cost England \$40,000 to collect \$5,000 in

revenue.

57. England required the colonists to pay for the stamps in coin. This was hard on the colonists, for they had been carrying on trade by exchanging one sort of goods for another. They were not permitted to coin money.

58. The leaders were James Otis, Christopher Gadsden, and John Rutledge of South Carolina, John Dickinson of Pennsylvania, and the

Livingstons of New York.

59. The non-importation agreements had almost destroyed the

American trade of the English merchants.

60. England proposed to spend this money in America by paying

the king's officers.

61. The English Whigs were having exciting times. A member had been expelled from Parliament for criticizing the king in No. 45 of a certain paper. The Massachusetts assembly gave ninety-two votes against recalling the "Circular Letter." In England toasts were drunk to "ninety-two" and "forty-five" as symbols of liberty. In America ninety-two patriots would drink forty-five toasts, or the dance would have ninety-two jigs and forty-five minuets, or ninety-two Sons of Liberty would raise a flagstaff forty-five feet high. This shows a warm sympathy between English and American Whigs.

62. The Regulating Act raised a new question that was deeper than taxation. May Parliament change colonial charters which it did not make? America said "No." William Pitt, now Lord Chatham, agreed with them. In the debate in the House of Lords, Chatham did Samuel Adams the honor of quoting from his "Circular Letter," declaring that the opinions in it would be Chatham's to the end.

63. Daniel Webster advised young men who wished to drink deeply of the spirit and life of the Revolutionary fathers to read the noble papers sent forth by this Congress. Lord Chatham said: "When your Lordships look at these papers, when you consider their decency, firmness, and wisdom, you cannot but respect their cause and wish to make it your own."

64. Franklin had been in England for several years as the agent for some of the colonies. Eight years before, the Whigs in Parliament

summoned him to appear before a committee on the Stamp Act. His answers, no doubt, had much to do with the repeal of that act. Chatham invited Franklin to be present on the day he presented his plan to the House of Lords. It gave the great orator an opportunity to praise Franklin by declaring that he was an honor to the English name and ranked with the great men of the world.

65. Afterward John Randolph declared that they were "raised in a minute, armed in a minute, fought in a minute, and vanguished

the enemy in a minute."

66. Lafayette, not yet eighteen, a captain of artillery in the old fortress of Metz, listened to the story of how the American farmers fought that day at Lexington. He then resolved to link his name and fortune with the American cause. How fitting that American soldiers who captured Metz should permit the French to enter first, on the heels of the retreating Germans (1918).

67. In two battles the Americans had proved themselves sharp-shooters. From childhood they had been taught to handle the gun.

All pioneer people are skillful in the use of arms.

68. In a few days brave General Morgan appeared in camp and saluted Washington, saying: "From the right bank of the Potomac." His men were Washington's own neighbors. They had marched to Cambridge, six hundred miles, in twenty-one days. They bore on their hunting shirts Patrick Henry's famous words, "Give me liberty or give me death!" Washington got down from his horse and shook hands with each man.

69. George III, a German by descent, called upon one of the German princes for help. He paid so much a head for the Hessian soldiers. Congress offered them free land, and hundreds deserted.

70. This was the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence. The

people of this region were Scotch-Irish Presbyterians.

71. There were able men among the Tories. Many of them were well-to-do and well educated. They were the "upper classes" in many communities. Among them were Governor Hutchinson of Massachusetts, Lord Fairfax of Virginia, and Count Rumford. The Count went to England and held high position. He finally joined the armies of the king of Bavaria, and was made a general. In Munich, the capital of Bavaria, stands a monument erected to his memory. It is estimated that forty thousand Tories fled to Canada and New Brunswick.

72. Jefferson was skillful in the use of the pen. He was true to the facts in laying the reasons for the Declaration of Independence at the door of the king, and in not blaming the English people.

73. Howe brought a pardon from George III. He directed it to "George Washington, Esq." Washington returned the letter unopened. The next time it came addressed to "General George Washington." Washington sent a short reply, stating that the Americans needed no pardon since they had done no wrong.

Nathan Hale, a school teacher, disguised himself and went to Howe's camp to gather news for Washington. He was discovered, arrested, and tried as a spy. Just before he was hanged he declared: "I only regret that I have but one life to give for my country."

74. Washington's army was without money. Congress did not have any. After pledging his own fortune, Washington obtained \$50,000, which Robert Morris had raised by going from door to door in Philadelphia. This tided it over, and it was ready for Princeton.

75. Cornwallis never forgot the "trick" Washington played him at Trenton. At Yorktown Cornwallis remarked to Washington:

"Nothing can excel your Excellency's skill at Trenton."

76. At Fort Stanwix, after the retreat of St. Leger, the brave backwoodsmen heard that Congress had adopted a flag. They immediately ran up a flag to celebrate the victory. It was made from a white shirt, a blue jacket, and red stripes from a petticoat.

The patriots had used several different flags in different parts of the country. One contained a picture of a rattlesnake with the words: "Don't tread on me." Another contained the words of Patrick Henry: "Liberty or Death." Colonel Moultrie, defending Charleston (1776) against the British fleet, used a blue flag with a white crescent and the word "Liberty" in large letters. The Pine Tree flag was a favorite, too.

But the Star-Spangled Banner grew out of the red flag of England. Washington, at Boston, raised a flag containing the crosses of St. George and St. Andrew, but the red field had been divided into thirteen stripes, red and white. The colonies were still hoping for an understanding

with George III. They had gone to war only for this end.

When Congress lost hope of peace, it adopted (1777) the Stars and Stripes as the flag of the new republic. The only change made in Washington's flag was to put thirteen white stars on a blue back-

ground in place of the crosses.

About a year before this action Betsy Ross of Philadelphia, at the request of Washington, Robert Morris, and George Ross, made a flag like the one voted by Congress. Betsy Ross' home, where she made the flag, still stands, an object of veneration preserved by the

Daughters of the American Revolution.

77. Arnold and Morgan did most of the fighting at Saratoga. Burgoyne said to General Morgan: "Sir, you command the finest regiment in the world!" This was a regiment of sharpshooters. A wounded German, lying on the ground, shot Arnold and shattered his leg injured at Quebec. An American soldier made for the German to run his bayonet through him. Arnold cried: "For God's sake don't hurt him! He's a fine fellow!" What a hero Arnold would have been had he died in this battle!

78. The "Conway Cabal" was a plot to have Congress turn Washington out and put Gates in his place. \The plotters were discovered, and Washington was more highly esteemed than before.

79. Many of the better educated Frenchmen sympathized with English and American Whigs. They hoped for the day when France would become a republic. The king feared the influence of this class of people as well as of the common people.

80. The battle was going well until General Lee began to retreat. Washington rode on the field, reprimanded Lee, ordered him to the rear, and himself restored order. Lee was tried before a military court

and dismissed from the army.

81. "Bon Homme Richard" means "Good man Richard." The ship was named in honor of Franklin's Poor Richard's Almanac.

82. Here fell Count Pulaski at the head of his famous legion while making a charge. He was a brave Pole and died far from home and

native land, while fighting for freedom in America.

83. Marion was a small man but a mighty warrior. He was a Huguenot and was called the "Swamp Fox" by the British. He invited a British officer to dine with him one day. Marion's servant, as they sat on a log, brought some baked sweet potatoes on pieces of bark! The Englishman resigned and went home, declaring it was no use fighting such people.

84. De Kalb, a general in the French army, came to America to help the colonists. The people of South Carolina, loving his name, erected on Camden battle field a monument to honor his memory. Lafayette, his comrade in arms, laid the corner stone on his last visit

to America (1824).

85. In this battle Tarleton, in a hand-to-hand encounter with Colonel Washington, received a wound in the hand. He was not permitted to forget this. Tarleton remarked to some ladies that he had never had the pleasure of meeting Colonel Washington. It was suggested that if he had "only looked behind him at Cowpens he would have had that pleasure." On another occasion he said he understood that Washington was so ignorant that he could not even write. A lady replied: "You bear the proof that he can at least make his mark."

86. Greene was rewarded by his countrymen. Congress gave him a medal, South Carolina a sum of money, and Georgia a beautiful

plantation. He was Washington's favorite general.

87. The French king, according to the treaty (1778), sent a large army to America under Count Rochambeau. It was at Newport, Rhode Island. Washington called it to New York to join him in an attack on that city. But when the news reached Washington that a French fleet was coming to the Chesapeake, he changed his plan and started for Yorktown.

88. Hanover is a German state over which the Georges of England

ruled.

89. How fortunate for America that her friends in England were again called to power! Besides Rockingham there were Shelburne and Camden, old friends of Lord Chatham, Richmond, who made the motion for independence in 1778, Grafton, Conway, and Cavendish.

Burke was not given a place in the Cabinet, but he was the greatest defender of the treaty in the House of Commons.

90. Washington certainly was a man who loved his country. He would not take a cent of pay for his services during the Revolution.

Lafayette, too, gave his services to America without pay.

91. But what they did was all very simple compared with the many things the stay-at-home people had to do in the World War

(1918).

92. Maryland was the last state to ratify the Articles. She had a good reason. She owned no western lands by which she could pay her soldiers. She held back until all western lands were given to the nation.

93. Not only Congress, but the states issued millions of paper money. It took \$100 in paper money to buy a pair of shoes (1781),

and \$1200 to purchase a cow.

94. Washington had refused to go to Philadelphia as chairman of the Society of Cincinnati, which was to meet there. He said he could not very well go to this new convention. Some friends advised him to stay away. They did not want Washington's name connected with

a failure!

95. Washington was the greatest character in America. Franklin was the wisest man in the English-speaking world and the oldest man in the convention. Hamilton, a foreigner born in the West Indies and educated in King's College, was the youngest man but one in the convention, thirty years old. He wanted a stronger government than the one made. Madison was the best read man on the subjects to come before the convention. He was the author of the Virginia Plan which formed the basis of the Constitution. He made a shorthand report of the speeches, motions, and votes of the convention. Madison is called the Father of the Constitution.

96. Among the opponents of the Constitution were some of the ablest men in the country: Elbridge Gerry, Samuel Adams, John Hancock, George Clinton, Richard Henry Lee, Patrick Henry, George

Mason, and others.

97. The small states were happy. They had been made equal to the larger states in the Senate. The Senate had been given unusual powers. It could accept or reject treaties, accept or reject the president's Cabinet, accept or reject any United States judge, and so on. When the election of a president was thrown into the House, each state had one vote.

98. Afterward these arguments were gathered up and put in a book, which you may now buy under the name of the Federalist.

99. The House now has 435 members, almost five times the number of senators

100. A growing demand has arisen for a president's term of six years with no reelection. The southern Confederacy had the six-year term for its president.

ror. The word "cabinet" is not in the Constitution, but is taken from the English government. The head of the English Cabinet is called the prime minister. He must choose the other members from Parliament. The prime minister and his Cabinet sit in Parliament, listen to the debates, take part in them, and vote on the bills, for they are members of Parliament. If the president were to choose a man from Congress for his Cabinet, this man would have to resign from Congress. The Cabinet presents most bills in Parliament. If Parliament should not agree with the Cabinet, the latter would have to resign at once. The president and his Cabinet do not introduce bills in Congress. If Congress and the president do not agree, no change takes place.

102. A comparison of these first ten amendments with the English

Bill of Rights will show why they are so called.

103. The Maryland factory was owned by Englishmen. When they had to give it up, it was turned into a shop for making cannon balls, probably through the interest of the Washington family.

104. Before this time, cotton was not raised much in the South.
105. Washington had journeyed through parts of this wild region.
He owned over 30,000 acres here. He was deeply interested in holding

these western settlers in the new nation.

106. Electors meet in their own states and vote for president. The Constitution (Art. II, \S_1 , \P_3) declared that the person receiving the most votes should be president and that the one having the next highest number should be vice-president. Amendment Twelve has changed this.

107. The Cabinet now contains ten departments. Its growth into great departments and sub-departments is a fine illustration of the

"Unwritten American Constitution."

108. The agreement to pay the state debts raised great opposition, and the measure at first failed. But Jefferson and Hamilton put their heads together and agreed that if enough northern votes were given to locate the capital on the Potomac after 1800, enough southern votes would be given to pass the Assumption Bill, as the bill for paying the debt of the states was called.

109. Among others who were Federalists were Washington,

John Adams, John Jay, and John Marshall.

Samuel Adams, and Albert Gallatin, a Swiss immigrant and a great financier. The names given to these parties were not used as they now are. The Federalists of Washington's time were more nearly like the Republicans of today, while the Republicans of Jefferson's day were more nearly like the Democrats of our time.

It was called the "Estates General." You can think what it meant to the people of France, if you try to imagine what America would

do without our Congress for so long a time.

For a long time French kings and their nobles lived high and wasted the money collected as taxes in drinking, gambling, and feasting. But the common people were in poverty. Our Revolution against a tyrant king stirred the French people to greater action. They had welcomed our Benjamin Franklin, and we had warmly received their Lafayette. The great explosion came when the common people of Paris arose and stormed the Bastile (July 14, 1789). This was the great prison in which the king had shut men up for speaking against him and his government. Republican France now celebrates this day each year much as we do the Fourth of July.

But in 1789 the French leaders of the Revolution had had but little experience in managing governments. They quarreled among themselves, and the "Reign of Terror" soon followed. After the leaders had killed each other, Napoleon Bonaparte came to the front. He was the greatest soldier Europe had ever seen. For over a dozen years his soldiers defeated all enemies and finally made him emperor of the French people. While Napoleon was a wise ruler in many ways, he

was a selfish tyrant.

112. America could not agree to this rule. If she did, no English-

man could become an American.

113. Napoleon remarked to some Americans: "Ah, gentlemen, . . . the measure of his [Washington's] fame is full. Posterity will talk of him with reverence as the founder of a great empire, when my name will be lost in the vortex of revolutions." A monument built in his memory, containing separate stones given by the great nations and by our states, stands 555 feet high in the city bearing his name. The home of his forefathers has been searched out in England and a tablet has been placed there in his honor. Both England and France have honored him with monuments.

114. President Adams in his message to Congress called these men

X, Y, and Z. Hence this is usually called the X. Y. Z. affair.

during Wilson's second administration. The danger was much greater in the World War, because there were more foreigners in America than in Adams' time.

ri6. Congress resolved to have no more disputes over who was president. The Constitution was amended so that the electors are required to make two lists, one for president and another for vice-

president (Amendment XII).

117. The capital had been at New York, then at Philadelphia for ten years, and was finally located in the new city of Washington. The last was a place chosen by Washington himself, and was then in the fields, where cows and hogs roamed at will and where wagons toiled through muddy and unpaved streets.

Here it was that Jefferson established the custom of sending his message to Congress to be read. This custom ran until 1913, when President Wilson broke it by reading his message in person to Congress.

118. Burr hated Hamilton and killed him in a duel (1804). Public sentiment was so hot against Burr that he became an outcast. He

organized an expedition and floated down the Ohio and Mississippi to Natchez. Jefferson had him arrested for treason. He was tried and set free.

119. This woman was called the "Bird Woman."

120. John Randolph was one of the keenest and queerest men in the early days of the Republic. He was a descendant of Pocahontas. He was a leader of the Republicans in Congress and was a warm friend of Jefferson at first. Randolph was opposed to the Embargo and bitterly objected to the War of 1812.

121. The declaration of war was carried by only five votes in the

Senate and by thirty in the House.

122. Tecumseh was probably the greatest Indian statesman. He had high ideas. He would not allow the massacre of prisoners and denounced those who did. He was a noble orator. He visited General Harrison at Vincennes and pleaded for his people and for their hunting grounds. He traveled over the eastern Mississippi Valley, trying to form a grand league of Indian tribes to destroy the whites. He opposed the retreat of the British from the Northwest Territory. He told his warriors that the battle of the Thames would be his last.

warring Europe of over a century of peace. It might be wise for our students to look at our neighbor's history during this time. We can recall that the English won Canada from the French and that these Canadians, though they were French, refused to join the Americans in the Revolutionary War. We also saw thousands of well-to-do

Americans driven to Canada during our Revolution.

After the war English settlers began moving to Canada. They settled in "Upper Canada" along the Great Lakes. The French Canadians occupied "Lower Canada." Quebec was their leading city. These two districts were separate but had the same governor, appointed by the king of England. Each had a legislature of its own. But in those days Frenchmen and Englishmen did not get on well. They quarreled, and then came fighting. The English government made peace between them by uniting Upper and Lower Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia under the name of the Dominion of Canada (1867). Since then people from England, the Continent, and from America have rushed into Canada by the thousands, and other states have been added to the Dominion. Canada now extends from the Atlantic to the Pacific. When the great World War broke out, Canadian boys were among the first to rush to the front (1914) in defense of the motherland. Hundreds of Americans joined them.

124. The new bank, created by the Republicans, is a good illustration of how war changes the minds of men. During the war the country had only state banks, and these had caused the money of the United States to fall in value. The Republicans were wise enough to see the need of a national bank to regulate the money of the country.

125. The early settlers helped each other in many ways. Besides "log rollings," there were house and barn raisings, and in the fall corn huskings or "shuckings." These all called for the gathering of neighbors for miles around. At the end of the day the old folks went home.

but the younger ones usually remained for "fun and frolic."

126. Rumsey on the Potomac, Fitch on the Delaware, and Longstreet on the Savannah had each invented a steamboat before Fulton
did. But in a sense they were failures. In England Fulton met
Watt, inventor of the steam engine. He aided Watt in building an
engine. He went to France and built a boat with an engine to make
it go. The trials proved Fulton correct. He got his engine for the
"Clermont" from Watt and Boulton. Fulton took the "Clermont"
out of the river, covered her with a deck, built two cabins with
berths, and changed her name to the "North River."

It is interesting to note that Nicholas Roosevelt and other men in New York built a steamboat in 1811 at Pittsburgh. Boats of a somewhat different kind were soon put on the Great Lakes, and after the Erie Canal was finished one could travel from New York to northern

Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin by water.

127. Scarcely less important has been the effect of the canal on Lockport, Batavia, Oneida, Rome, Herkimer, Little Falls, Amsterdam, Cohoes, and Troy, to say nothing of other enterprising places. New York voted \$100,000,000 (1903) to make the canal into a "barge" canal and added \$27,000,000 to this in 1915. The canal was used by the national government to carry war freight to New York (1918) and thus relieve the railroads.

128. The greatest fun for the boys came when the mill pond was to be drained. Farmers made up small parties with seines from fifty to one hundred yards long. It was rare sport when some one had to draw his end of the seine through water over his head or when the

alarmed bass jumped over the top of the seine and escaped.

129. No American is better remembered in South America than Henry Clay. He worked hard, as secretary of state, to aid the South

Americans in getting their independence.

Washington and Jefferson that we should keep out of European quarrels. He was a son of John Adams and had been to Europe. He had favored the Embargo and had opposed New England's attitude toward the War of 1812. The Republicans took him up and sent him to help make the Treaty of Ghent. He returned and was appointed secretary of state by Monroe.

131. One elector voted against Monroe because he wished Washington to be the only president who received a unanimous vote for

that high office.

132. Another proof of the "era of good feeling" was that Adams and Jefferson had renewed their friendship and were once more engaged in exchanging friendly letters as of old. They both died just fifty

vears after independence had been declared—the one at Quincy, Massachusetts, July 4, 1826, the other at Monticello, Virginia, on the

same day.

133. The bank had been chartered in 1816 for twenty years with a capital of \$35,000,000. It had its branches in all the main cities. When Jackson made war on the bank, it went into politics and tried to help elect Clay. This was a mistake, for it made many votes for Tackson.

134. By 1860 four million foreign-born people had found homes in the United States. Only four hundred thousand of these were in the South, and more than half of these were in Maryland and Missouri.

135. One of the most distinguished sons of Germany driven to America for his part in the Revolution of 1848 was Carl Schurz. He escaped from a German prison and came to America. He rose rapidly, was a warm friend of Lincoln's, and became a general in the Civil War. He was a member of the Cabinet of President Hayes and became prominent as a civil service reformer.

136. From 1845 to 1847 Ireland suffered a terrible famine because of the failure of her potato crop. Thousands died of starvation in spite of food shipped in from England and the United States. From

1840 to 1860 over 1,700,000 Irish migrated to America.

137. Henry Barnard was made United States commissioner of

education in 1867.

138. In that day there was little room for women outside the home. It was pointed out that this school was preparing young women to

take their place in the family in a proper manner.

139. The "jerks," a sort of nervous twitching of the body, sometimes took hold of the head and made its motions very rapid. Again persons fell upon the ground or made other strange motions, showing that they were deeply and strangely affected by the preaching. The "jerks" seemed to get hold of all classes of persons, even those who went to the meetings in a spirit of fun. It is interesting to note that a preacher in a southern city has in this day, November 15, 1919, complained to the police that persons so affected are breaking up his meetings by alarming others so that they leave the meetings.

140. Cyrus H. McCormick lived in the Shenandoah Valley. His father had tried to invent a reaper, and the son kept at it until successful. His neighbors smiled at him for wasting his time. He built a shop in Cincinnati but finally located in Chicago, the center of wheatgrowing on the prairies. Here there were no stumps in the wheat He took his reaper to the World's Fair in London (1851). He kept on improving his machines, and today they are sold wherever

wheat is grown.

141. Howe, rather an exception, made himself well-to-do by the invention of the sewing machine. Since the first machine great changes have made the machine more perfect. Outside of the home it is used

for making all sorts of articles of cloth and leather.

142. Morse was born in 1701. After finishing at Yale he went to England. As he came home the idea came to him of sending news by electricity. He worked hard on his invention, aided by two mechanics, Vail and Baxter. On three miles of wire, strung around his shop, Morse sent this message: "A patient waiter is no loser" (1838). They hastened the invention to Congress, for Morse was a poor man. Members of Congress made fun of the invention. He went home discouraged at ten o'clock, March 3, 1843. He had no money to pay his board bill. That very night Congress voted him money.

143. The tariff of 1816 was favored and opposed by congressmen from all sections. The South gradually saw that the negro could not safely handle the machinery of a cotton mill. Besides, the planter had his money in slaves and lands and could not change easily to the

business of running a factory.

144. Calhoun and Clay taunted each other over the situation, each claiming the victory. Calhoun declared that he forced the Federal government to back down from its high protective tariff policy, of which Clay had been the great defender. Clay declared that he had

saved Calhoun's neck from Jackson's halter.

145. The Democrats had three vote-catching cries. For the South they called for the "reannexation of Texas." The United States had dropped her claim to Texas as a part of Louisiana, when Monroe purchased Florida (1819). For the North the cry was, "Fifty-four forty or fight." This was to be the northern boundary line of the Oregon region, but the Democrats accepted the line of 49°. This campaign cry was intended to raise the enthusiasm of northern voters. It succeeded, but the President did not carry out the threat of "Fifty-four forty or fight" and "All Oregon or none." The Whigs blamed Birney for the defeat of Clay. They insisted that the antislavery Whigs in New York supported Birney in the election, thus giving that state to Polk.

146. Abraham Lincoln, who had been in Congress but one term, introduced his famous "spot" resolution calling on President Polk to point out the "particular spot where American blood had been shed on American soil." Lincoln hoped by this resolution to call the attention of the country to the fact that the "spot" was in the

disputed territory.

147. The bill was so named from David Wilmot, a Democrat from

Pennsylvania, who introduced it.

148. New Yorkers were again blamed for the election. This time the Democrats blamed the Free-soil Democrats for voting for Martin

Van Buren, thus giving the state to Taylor.

149. President Taylor was a slaveholder, but it is said that Senator Seward was his chief advisor. Taylor took a soldier's view of the trouble the settlers in California were having with lawless persons, so he favored its admission as a state. He died in office and was succeeded by Vice-President Millard Fillmore of New York.

150. Calhoun was an able man. Even before the War of 1812, he stood out as a great leader. Now (1850) he was the leader of the states' rights party in the nation. He died in 1850.

151. These routes ran from "Mason and Dixon's Line" through

Pennsylvania, New York, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Iowa.

152. A number of the rescues were most exciting. A Boston mob took "Shadrack," a negro, from the officers of the law. At Syracuse a crowd gathered and seized "Jerry" while he was being tried. Other men along the border made it a business to "hunt" slaves for the officers.

153. Douglas declared that on his way from New York to Chicago he could read his newspaper by the light of his own burning effigy. The Missouri Compromise had stood for over thirty years. It was almost as sacred as the Constitution. To the North its repeal seemed like tearing up the foundations of the government itself.

154. Lincoln had been preparing this speech for some time. He showed it to friends and asked their advice. "Don't put that in your speech," said his friends. "If you do, Douglas will beat you." To which Lincoln replied: "I would rather be defeated with that in

my speech than win with it out of my speech."

Douglas had met and had defeated the best debaters in Congress. He told them, when asked about Lincoln, that he would rather meet

any of them in debate than Lincoln.

It was at Freeport, Illinois, where Lincoln, though opening and closing the debate, put the fatal questions to Douglas. The night before, he had met Republican leaders and had showed them the questions. Again they advised him against using them. "Douglas will surely win, if you do," they said. "I am gunning for bigger game. If Douglas answers as you say he will, he can never be president," he replied.

After the debates were over he wrote to a friend: "I am glad I made the late race. It gave me a hearing on the great question of the age. . . . Though I now sink out of view and shall be forgotten, I believe I have made some marks which will tell for the cause

of liberty long after I am gone."

against-itself" speech, but in milder terms. In the fall of the same year, at Rochester, Seward had declared that the two sections are engaged in an "irrepressible conflict" which must result in the country becoming all slave or all free. This gave offense to southern leaders.

156. On Washington's birthday in Philadelphia, in the presence of a vast crowd, Lincoln raised the Stars and Stripes over Independence Hall. As he did so, he said: "I have never had a feeling, politically,

which did not spring from the Declaration of Independence.

157. Shortly after the call for men Douglas, with Lincoln's knowledge, made a trip to the Middle West to stir the patriotism of that region. He spoke twice in Ohio and then hastened to Springfield,

Lincoln's own town, and received a great ovation at the hands of the Republican legislature. He made them a rousing union speech. He hastened to his own home, Chicago, and in the building where Lincoln had been nominated he made another patriotic speech. He was overworked and in a few days was dead. Lincoln and the Union

lost a great champion.

158. Robert E. Lee was a "Virginia cavalier" by birth, education, and character. His father was a famous cavalry officer in the Revolution, "Light Horse Harry" Lee. Robert went to West Point, where he distinguished himself as a student. He won name and fame in the Mexican War. He was called to be the head of West Point, where he made many changes for the good of the school. He was a Union man and was opposed to secession, but, like many Southern men, felt he must go with his state. To the man Lincoln sent to offer him the command of the Union armies, Lee replied: "How can I take part against my relatives, my children, and my home?"

150. In the battle of Bull Run, when it looked like a Federal victory, Confederate General Bee called to his retreating men: "There stands Jackson like a stone wall." "Stonewall" Jackson, as his soldiers loved to call him, became, next to Lee, the greatest general

of the Confederacy.

160. General Johnston was a noble man. Just before he was shot he had sent his surgeon to care for wounded Union prisoners. Johnston

bled to death before his surgeon returned.

161. The simple faith of the northern farmer in Lincoln is seen in the remarks of one of them who came from the South, too. "The slaveholder now has no one to blame but himself. Did not 'Old Abe' promise them that if they would come back into the Union they and their property would be protected?"

162. Jackson was a poor boy and was raised by relatives. walked to Washington to get his appointment to West Point. He was in the Mexican War and became a professor in a Virginia military school. He was a sternly religious man and, like Cromwell, prayed

His soldiers idolized him, although he drove them hard. He was a great general. Lee said, when he heard of his death: "I have lost my right arm."

163. Gettysburg was the place made immortal in 1864 by being dedicated as a national cemetery, and by being the place where Lincoln, before the great men of the nation, read his most famous writing, "the Gettysburg Address." Just fifty years after the battle, and after both North and South had built many monuments to their dead, a great reunion of the Confederate and Union veterans was held on the Gettysburg battle field. This reunion was proof to the world that the brave men who wore the Blue and the Gray were one.

164. The most dangerous opponent of the war in Congress was one Vallandigham. He tried to prevent boys from joining the army and to induce them to desert when once they had enlisted. He was arrested and imprisoned. But Lincoln finally sent him, as a sort of logical joke, into the Confederacy, so that he might be with his friends.

He escaped and finally got back home.

165. One day a soldier was taking Lincoln through the hospitals. Lincoln talked with the men in the most friendly way about their condition, their homes, their mothers, wives, and sweethearts. When passing through the rooms the soldier said to Lincoln that he need not go into the next room since they were only rebels in there. Lincoln stopped, put a friendly hand upon the boy's shoulder, and said: "You mean Confederates!" The soldier says that he meant Confederates ever after. He could see no difference in Lincoln's treatment of the

Blue and the Gray.

166. Grant was born in Ohio and went to West Point, where his record was only fair. He was in the Mexican War. After the war he resigned and went into the real estate business, but failed. He went to Galena, Illinois, and went into business with his brother. When the Civil War broke out, the governor of Illinois "discovered" him and put him to training soldiers. To discipline a company, it is told that he made the men carry rails upon their shoulders for a long distance. At the capture of Fort Donelson he made his name famous by replying to the request for terms: "Unconditional surrender." He was nicknamed "Unconditional Surrender" Grant. When meeting awful losses in the Wilderness, he sent this dispatch to Washington: "I propose to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer." After the war he was made president. After his second term he went around the world. His friends tried to make him president a third time, but Washington's example was too powerful. He wrote his Memoirs while battling against death. He lies buried in New York City in a spot overlooking the Hudson.

167. Sherman was born in Ohio. He went to West Point. He was teaching in the South when secession came. He made himself unpopular in the North by stating that the South meant to fight and fight hard. Grant and Sherman became warm friends. Sherman was

probably the greatest strategist in the northern army.

168. General Joseph E. Johnston was a brave man. He had been at West Point, in the Mexican War, and was head of the Confederates at Fair Oaks. Here he was wounded. He was helping Pemberton at Vicksburg. Johnston was given command in Bragg's place. He and Sherman played a great game at strategy, but Johnston had to retreat for lack of men. It is hard to understand why Davis should have removed him for following Lee's plan of fighting.

169. Thomas, born in Virginia, did not "go with his state." He had been to West Point and in the Mexican War. He saved the day at Murfreesboro and at Chickamauga and stormed Missionary Ridge for Grant. He was a bit slow but sure. Thomas disturbed both Lincoln and Grant. Grant ordered his dismissal but took it back.

Thomas destroyed Hood's army. The plan of the battle of Franklin is said to be the only battle of the Civil War studied in European textbooks on war. His boys loved to call him "Pap" Thomas.

170. The World War resulted differently. Not so many men died of disease, owing to new and better ways of taking care of drinking water. cooking, drainage of camps, and the curing of sickness. The work, too, of surgeons in caring for the wounded was not less marvellous.

171. The invasion of Pennsylvania by Lee's army was in no sense

a "raid," but was the regular movement of a great army.
172. These were called "vagrancy laws." They required all ablebodied negroes to work. But many were enjoying their new-found liberty too much to work. The South feared they would become idle and dangerous. If they refused to work, they could be arrested Their children could be "bound and put to work for some white man. out" until a given age was reached.

173. The bitter feeling aroused by this trial is hard for us to understand in this day. The few Republicans voting for Johnson were treated shamefully. Some were accused of being bought, others of being traitors to their party. Most of them were driven from their

party. Very few were ever permitted to hold office again.

174. Talking over old questions such as the doings of the Ku-Klux came in campaign years. People opposed to discussing "southern

outrages" called such discussions "waving the bloody shirt."

175. Greeley was a most interesting figure. He frequently gave the advice, it is said: "Go West, young man, and grow up with the country." The Tribune, of which he was editor, was a mighty force in bringing on the war. But Greeley signed the bail bond of Jefferson Davis and was opposed to "congressional reconstruction." In the campaign "everybody went to hear him, but nobody voted for him." The rejoicing of the Republicans at his defeat was hardly over when the news came that his defeat, joined to family sorrow, had sent him to his grave.

176. About every twenty years this country has had hard times, or a "panic." Not all these have been equally hard. The years in which they have occurred are 1819, 1837, 1857, 1873, and 1893.

177. Tweed was, for a long time, the head of a body of politicians who could not be touched by public opinion, because, it was said, his supporters did not read the newspapers. But Thomas Nast, in Harper's Weekly, began to make pictures about them. Everybody could understand these pictures. The result was that Tweed was driven from power and finally put in prison.

178. No little credit is due to Tilden, for he urged his followers to accept the decision and not appeal to force, as had been threatened. This they did and settled down like good Americans to obey the laws, although every Democrat felt that Tilden had been "cheated out of the election." Congress and the country did not want any more dis-

puted elections, so laws were passed to prevent such.

179. One of the strongest arguments for the civil service was that the system of examinations had worked out well in Europe, especially

in England.

180. One danger from having more paper money in the country than gold was just this fact of high prices. It took more greenbacks to pay for a day's work or for a bushel of wheat or corn than it did gold. In other words, the rich man with his gold could buy more for a gold dollar than the poor man could buy with his greenbacks.

181. Louisiana was a sugar-producing state and did not want to

have to compete with sugar producers from other countries.

182. This act was called "the crime of '73" by the silver people.
183. During the debate in Congress one senator talked for fourteen

hours against repeal. Nevertheless, the law was repealed.

184. Dawson and Klondike City sprang into existence as the result of the gold rush. A traveler who visited Dawson in 1898 says that four loaves of bread sold for a dollar and that the newspapers cost fifty cents a copy.

185. Copper, also, is mined in large quantities. Both hard and soft coal are found in Alaska. The government is building a railroad

to the coal fields.

186. Fifty-two foreign countries had exhibits. It was a real world's fair. The exhibits were grouped in fifteen classes, such as agriculture, mines, manufactures, electricity, and education. There were 158 acres of buildings, some of them so big that the visitor felt lost in them. The largest was the Manufactures and Liberal Arts building that covered 30½ acres. During the time the fair was open there were 27,500,000 admissions.

187. The Democratic convention was held in Chicago. Bryan made a speech that won him the nomination. Speaking to the advocates of a gold standard, he said, "You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns; you shall not crucify mankind upon

a cross of gold." The speech became famous.

188. The annual product rose from 5,000,000 ounces in 1886 to 12,300,000 ounces in 1900. This met the demand of the Democrats for more money and took the strength out of the "free silver" argument.

189. Roosevelt, as a boy, had a weak body, but he made himself strong by outdoor life and exercise. He was an athlete, a great hunter, and an explorer. He wrote several interesting books about his trips.

For a time Roosevelt lived as a ranchman in the West. He had many adventures with rough men and wild animals but was always

able to take care of himself.

rgo. The battle of Mukden was the greatest battle of the war. It was a victory for the Japanese. During this battle Marquis Oyama, commander-in-chief of the Japanese forces, directed the fighting on forty miles of front from a spot miles in the rear of the line. He did it by telephone.

191. In 1906 Roosevelt received the Nobel Peace Prize. This is a reward of about \$50,000 given to the person who does most during any year to bring about peace between nations. Roosevelt gave all of

the money to good causes.

cannot be cured. The leper, young or old, must die. Who but President Roosevelt would have thought to order the American fleet, when sailing near the lepers' island, to fire a salute? The mighty guns of that fleet awoke memories in the hearts of the lepers never to be forgotten. The lepers raised money for the Roosevelt National Memorial. Not only so, but they dedicated in their own mountain home a Roosevelt Memorial Children's Park.

r93. An example of the wasting of natural resources is found in the way natural gas was allowed to flow unchecked for some years. In Indiana, Ohio, and Pennsylvania people set fire to the escaping gas and let it burn. At night, mile after mile of countryside was lighted up in this way. Today these same gas fields are nearly exhausted.

194. The forest rangers are now aided in their work by regular airplane patrols over the forests. These watch for fires and report them to the fire-fighters. In 1918 there were over five thousand

fires in the national parks.

195. The Elephant Butte Dam on the Rio Grande in New Mexico is the largest government irrigation project. The dam is 305 feet high and 1310 feet long. It forms a lake that covers 40,000 acres. It is capable of watering 183,000 acres of crops. Other great irrigation projects are the Roosevelt Dam in Arizona and the Shoshone Dam in Wyoming.

Altogether about 15,000,000 acres have been reclaimed from the

desert. This work is in charge of the Reclamation Service.

196. President Taft later made a speech at Winona, Minnesota, in which he pronounced the Payne-Aldrich tariff "the best the country ever had." This was very offensive to the western Republicans who had opposed the bill. They took it to mean that Taft was trying to force them out of the party.

197. After seeing Taft safely inaugurated, Roosevelt left for Africa on a hunting trip that lasted over a year. On his return he found Taft engaged in a quarrel with the progressive Republicans and the party

threatened with a serious split.

198. Elihu Root was chairman of the convention. Aided by the National Committee, he succeeded in keeping the Roosevelt delegates out of the convention. This system was called the "steam roller."

199. Wilson had been president of Princeton University after being a teacher in the same institution. He wrote extensively on the government and history of the United States. As governor of New Jersey he secured progressive legislation.

200. Many small high-power boats were engaged in the filibustering trade with the Cuban insurgents. They would take on board a load

of ammunition and arms in some port in Florida. Then on a dark night they would slip out of the harbor. The morning would find them off the Cuban coast unloading their precious cargo for the Cubans.

201. In 1911 the "Maine" was raised. The condition of the hull showed that the explosion came from the outside. Just who was

responsible has never been determined.

202. "Remember the Maine" became the battle-cry of the Ameri-

cans. It makes us think of "Remember the Alamo."

203. When the fleet was about two miles from the forts, Admiral Dewey turned to the captain of the ship and said quietly, "When you are ready, you may fire, Gridley." The reply was the thundering report of two long, eight-inch guns in the turrets of the "Olympia." The battle had begun.

204. Leonard Wood had started army life as a surgeon. He won fame by capturing the savage Apache chief, Geronimo. From 1899 to 1903 he was military governor of Cuba. He began many reforms.

205. The "Maria Teresa," badly cut up by shells and in flames from end to end, ran on shore. As the "Texas" passed the Spanish ship the American tars began to cheer. But Captain Philip, seeing the burning and drowning Spaniards, turned to his men and said: "Don't cheer. The poor devils are dying."

206. The Panama railroad was built between 1850 and 1855. It earned big sums of money in its early days. The government now

owns it.

207. Roosevelt was criticized for recognizing the republic so quickly—he waited only three days. It was even charged by his opponents that he started the revolution and that he sent troops to help the revolutionists.

208. Distances saved by the canal are as follows: San Francisco to New York, 7,873 miles; New York to Valparaiso, 3,823 miles; San Francisco to Para, 5,210 miles; Liverpool to San Francisco, 5,465 miles.

209. The famous Captain Cook discovered these islands in 1778 and named them the Sandwich Islands. The first American missionaries arrived in 1820. Some of the greatest volcanoes in the world are found here. The country was organized as a territory in 1900.

210. This affair was the beginning of movements in China that have driven the old rulers from the throne. After much disturbance the Chinese Republic was proclaimed in 1910. Japan seems determined to get control of the country, but the United States stands for the "open door."

211. The native children are taught the English language in the schools. Over six hundred thousand children were in school in 1917.

212. In 1912 Great Britain, United States, Russia, and Japan agreed to cut off seal hunting in the open sea for fifteen years. This was to give the seal herds a chance to grow in numbers.

213. Diaz gave Mexico peace and prosperity. His methods were

so harsh, however, that there was constant danger of revolution.

214. The meeting of the delegates was held at Niagara Falls.

215. Henry Clay is regarded by South Americans as their greatest friend among American statesmen. In 1817 he favored recognizing the independence of the South American states. When he was secretary of state under John Quincy Adams, he tried to bring about a close relation with South America.

216. There have been six years since 1900 when more than a million immigrants arrived. In 1910, 14.7 per cent of our population were foreign-born. In 1910 in nine American cities over half of the

males of voting age were foreign-born.

217. No naturalized person can become president or vice-president. Filipinos may be naturalized in two years after coming to the United States. Nine states allow the immigrant to vote if he declares his intention to become a citizen.

218. In 1916 there were 3,157 strikes. Of these, 1,031 were to get

higher wages.

219. Forty disputes were settled by the Erdman Act and sixty-one

disputes by the Newlands Act.

220. The census says there are about two million children from ten to fifteen years of age in the country who are engaged in gainful occupations. About one-fourth of them are working in factories.

221. In the same year over twenty-six hundred coal miners were

killed. In 1913 over two million workmen were injured.

222. In most states the injured workingman can receive as high as

50 or 60 per cent of his weekly wage, but not more.

223. Some states grant compensation for sickness caused by "occupational" diseases. These are diseases which come to workers in occupations like lead and brass working, or occupations that use wood alcohol, varnish, arsenic, or mercury.

224. Some men who have brought about this result were Cornelius

Vanderbilt, George Gould, James J. Hill, and E. H. Harriman.

225. In some places voting machines are used.

- 226. In most cities the city council has only one house or body. In a few there are an upper and a lower house. Usually the number of members is from ten to twenty, but Philadelphia has 132 in her two houses.
- 227. From 1911 to 1920 Mexico was overrun by bandits and desperadoes of all kinds. They murdered and robbed right and left, Mexicans as well as other people. It will be a long time before Mexico recovers from the effect of their evil deeds.

228. The largest city is Charlotte Amalie on Saint Thomas. It has

a fine harbor.

229. French-Canadian fur traders made the first settlements. In 1810 Lord Selkirk built a fort near Pembina. One of the greatest gold mines in the world, the Homestake mine, is in the Black Hills. Gold was first discovered in this district in 1874 by one of Custer's soldiers. Gold hunters rushed into the region, and Indian troubles followed.

230. Lewis and Clark were the first white men to visit this region.

Idaho leads all other states in lead mining.

231. Kit Carson, the famous scout and Indian fighter, lived in the old Mexican town of Taos. Dates from 1582 to 1605 are given for the founding of Santa Fe.

232. Sitting Bull was helped in this battle by the Cheyenne chief, Rain-in-the-Face, with a thousand warriors. Custer's body was the

only one not disfigured by the Indians.

233. Kindergartens were first started in Germany by Froebel.

234. Some high schools, like those in New York City, have as many as five thousand pupils. In many the pupils have debating and literary societies, and football, baseball, and basket-ball teams. They also have bands and orchestras and run their own school papers. Many have fine gymnasiums, athletic fields, and swimming pools.

235. In some states the principal of the rural high school lives near the school building in a house provided by the school district. He thus becomes a real member of the community and can act as a leader

out of the school as well as in it.

236. Samuel Hall opened the first normal school at Concord, Vermont, 1823. Massachusetts was the first state to start public normal schools. James G. Carter, Charles Brooks, and Horace Mann helped in the movement.

237. In several middle western states like Minnesota, Illinois, and Wisconsin, the state universities have more than five thousand stu-

dents each.

Columbia University in New York City is the biggest university in

America. In 1917 it had over seventeen thousand students.

238. Some of these colleges founded by churches are Denison University in Ohio, DePauw University in Indiana, and Illinois College in Illinois. In the early days these colleges expected each student to work about half of each school day on a farm so as to earn his college education. This was a great help to poor boys.

239. In 1910 not one per cent of workers on farms or in factories had any training in school for the work. It has been shown that girls with vocational training earn twice as much as those without training.

240. Mark Twain was a Missouri boy. He never went to school very much, but worked in a printer's shop, learned to be a pilot on a Mississippi River steamboat, and tried his hand at gold mining. He traveled extensively and at last settled down to write books. As an

author he was a very great success.

241. Riley was an Indiana boy. Unlike Twain, he had a fair school education. For some years he roamed the Ohio Valley, earning his living as a sign painter. Later, he began to work on a newspaper and to write poetry. After a while he was ranked as one of our leading poets. The schoolboys and girls of Indiana celebrate "Riley Day" every year on his birthday, October 7.

242. Eggleston also wrote historical works of much merit.

243. Wisconsin is Hamlin Garland's home state. He taught school for a while and afterward became a lecturer. He has written both prose and poetry.

244. Davis was a great traveler. Whenever a war was going on anywhere in the world, Davis was sure to be there. He was not fighting, but was reporting the war for big newspapers. He wrote some

fine adventure stories.

245. O. Henry (William Sydney Porter) was a North Carolina boy who spent some time on a Texas cattle ranch. He went to Central America and became a banana grower, but failed in this business. He returned to the United States and began writing stories, finally moving to New York City. He ranks very high as a short-story writer.

246. Andrew Carnegie came to the United States from Scotland when he was ten years old, a poor immigrant boy. He began work in a cotton mill at 20 cents a day. His honesty, quickness, and devotion to duty led him from one position to another. He learned telegraphy and had charge of the eastern military railroads and telegraph lines during the Civil War. All this time he was saving his money. He brought the Bessemer process of steel-making to this country from England and began to make steel. He built up this business until the Carnegie Steel Company became the biggest in the country. In 1901 he sold his interests and retired, one of the richest men in the world.

Mr. Carnegie believed that he should use his great wealth to make the world a better place. So he gave away great sums of money to good causes. He gave money to help colleges and universities. He gave \$10,000,000 to help on peace between nations; he founded many libraries. It is said that he gave away altogether over \$300,000,000.

247. In 1920 cotton was exported to the value of \$1,136,000,000 and

meat to the value of \$368,000,000.

248. The value of the exported manufactured goods in 1920 was

over \$3,800,000,000.

249. South American merchants usually wanted long-time credit. They also wanted their imports packed in certain ways. The American manufacturers did not pay much attention to these ideas of the South American buyers. The result was that many a South American merchant gave one order to some firm in the United States and after that gave his business to Germany or England, whose manufacturers were more accommodating and careful.

250. All our coastwise and lake commerce is carried in American

ships. It is the biggest coastwise commerce in the world.

251. During the World War we had 341 shipyards building ships. Some of these ships were of wood, some of steel, and some of concrete.

252. Every living thing has to fight against germs. Many diseases of people, such as tuberculosis, typhoid, and pneumonia, are caused by them. Among plants smut and rust, apple scab, and pear blight are germ diseases. Farm animals suffer from tuberculosis, tetanus, and cholera.

253. The average value of the machinery on each farm of the coun-

try is about \$1,000.

254. The rural truck stopping daily at the farmer's gate reminds some of us of the "old-fashioned marketer." He drove a two-horse wagon and came each week. His coming was made known by blowing a bugle. He made his way to every countryside over the worst of roads. He took orders for next week's delivery. But the auto and the truck are taking his place.

255. Elevators used to be built of wood, brick, or iron. Many are now made of concrete. The largest concrete grain elevator in the world belongs to the Armour Grain Company and is in Chicago. It

can hold 4,383,000 bushels of wheat.

256. One of the best things the Department of Agriculture is doing is getting the county agent system started. The county agent is a farm expert who advises the farmers about their work, telling them how to use the best methods, answering their questions, and helping them in their buying and selling. He helps them to organize agricultural clubs.

257. Making the machines is itself a big business. There are about ten thousand shops in the country making machines. The largest

group is the one making farm machinery.

258. Birmingham has grown up in the last thirty years. Iron and coal have made it. It is built partly upon the slope of a mountain of iron ore.

259. Refrigerator cars were first used between Chicago and New York City. Ice is put in at each end of the car and a blower drives

the cold air through the car.

260. Special kinds of steel steamers are built to carry iron ore, coal, and grain. These boats carry about 80,000,000 tons of cargo through the "Soo" Canal in a year. This is several times as much as passes through the Suez Canal in the same time. The canal was opened in 1855 and has been much enlarged since then. At lake ports like Toledo and Cleveland there are huge machines that pick up a whole freight car and dump its load of coal into the waiting ship.

261. Other inventors and their inventions are Bell, the telephone; Goodyear, the welt machine for sewing soles on shoes; Robinson, block signals for railways; Brush, the arc electric light; Patterson, the cash register; Burroughs, the recording adding machine; Thomson, electric

welding; Hardy, the disk plow; and Lewis, the machine gun.

was sailing along the coast of Ireland. Her passengers were happy in the thought that they would soon see their loved ones and friends. Suddenly she was struck by a torpedo shot from a German submarine, then another, and the ship went down in twenty minutes with all on board, more than twelve hundred. This was not war, but was pretty close to murder. The whole world shuddered at the news, but Germany struck medals in honor of the event.

263. Theodore Roosevelt was one of the most active in demanding that America prepare for war. He had offered to take command of a volunteer force and go to France. But permission was refused him.

264. The Kaiser was king of Prussia and emperor of Germany. He often dashed along the streets of Berlin on horseback at the head of his soldiers, or rode with his wife in the royal carriage. People gathered in great crowds on both sides of the street to see him pass. When he came everybody raised his hat. If anyone failed to do this, a policeman might ask him to do so. The Kaiser's picture hung in a prominent place in every public school.

265. One of the most interesting facts of the war was the great numbers of school boys and girls who took part in so many efforts to help win the war. They did noble service in helping raise money and in going, in great numbers, to aid the farmers. The girls were called "farmerettes." Those who remained at home, both old and young, added greatly to our food supplies by making gardens by the

thousands.

266. The German government carried on "propaganda" not only in America, but in Germany as well. It taught its own people to believe that Americans were only money-getters and would not fight. It said that it would take years for us to make an army; that even if we did, their submarines would never permit it to sail for Europe. But when a million men stormed the Argonne Forest and shattered the German line, the Germans felt their government had deceived them.

267. When General Pershing heard General Foch had been given command of all the Allied forces he went to him and said: "Infantry, artillery, aviation, all that we have, are yours to dispose of as you will.

268. When we began building steel ships not a shipyard in the world but required from six to twelve months to launch a vessel. But America put one in the water in ninety days. Then came one in eighty days. The Pacific Coast yards then reduced the time to sixty-six days, and finally to fifty-five days. This record aroused the Atlantic Coast builders and they announced that they would take only twenty-seven days, four hours, and fifty minutes to build one. It took one hour and forty minutes less! This certainly was a bad day for the Kaiser.

269. Did you ever see the cartoon: "Go Tell It to the Marines"? So grateful were the French for the splendid work of our marines in capturing Belleau Wood, defended by three times as many Germans, that the French government changed its name to the "Wood of the Marine Brigade."

270. The stories of the deeds of bravery by the American soldiers make a page of history that will thrill the American boy and girl to the remotest time. Among these stories, none shows more of a simple courage and trusting confidence in a Higher Power than that story of Lieutenant York, a Tennessee mountaineer. In the Argonne, he was sent with a handful of men to capture a nest of machine guns. They crept through the tangled forest and over the rocks and hills until they reached the enemy without being seen. Then began a battle which tested the courage of the bravest. Nearly all York's comrades had fallen, but he kept on. With his automatic pistol he killed 25 men and captured 132 others. He destroyed several machine guns and marched his prisoners back to the American army. York did not seem to think he had done much.

In this battle, an American battalion advanced so rapidly that the Germans cut it off from the American army but could not capture it. For three days this brave band, without food and water, stood their ground. They have become immortalized under the name of "The

Lost Battalion."

271. The Kaiser lost greatly in the estimation of his own people by deserting them in their hour of need. Had he led his army in one desperate charge against the Allies and had he died fighting, he would

now stand much higher in the esteem of the German soldier.

272. Before the war closed, the Quakers of America, true to the teachings of Fox and Penn, were already in the field helping to build up towns and villages in France. They were the first among the churches to take united action to aid France. Others have now gone in, and some of larger ones have been given certain villages to rebuild.

273. Harding's popular majority over Cox was over 7,500,000.

STUDY QUESTIONS

(1-26) I. Picture Western Europe in 1500. 2. What did the common man do for a living? 3. How many and what classes were there then? 4. What changes in classes have been made since then? 5. Picture the Northmen. 6. What were the causes of people turning attention to Western Europe? 7. What did Spain win in America in the race with Portugal? 8. Make a list of Spanish explorers with the countries visited. 9. What new thing would Columbus have learned in 1522? 10. What did the king of France say about the pope's meridian? 11. What events grew out of the rivalry of England and Spain?

(27-35) 1. What natural advantages helped and what hindered the early settlers in America? 2. Explain how the Indians helped and

hindered American settlers.

(36-60) 1. Why did English people at first hesitate to settle in America? 2. Why did they come later? 3. Give an imaginary conversation between two Virginia settlers. 4. What events changed the whole life of the colony? 5. Name the things which made Virginians content with their lot. 6. Who were the Puritans and Cavaliers? 7. What proof can you give that Berkeley had learned nothing from the rule of Cromwell? 8. How did Maryland as a colony differ from Virginia? 9. What became of Maryland's experiment in founding a medieval society? 10. Why should Maryland and Virginia have trouble? 11. Make a list of the countries from which the settlers of Carolina came. 12. In what respect did the Carolinas resemble Maryland? 13. What double motive did Oglethorpe have for founding Georgia? 14. Name the three great men who came out to Georgia.

(61-83) 1. To what other colonies did Puritans go besides Massachusetts? 2. What is the difference between a Separatist and a Puritan? 3. What custom came to us from the Pilgrims? 4. Give the cause and the purpose of the Puritans' leaving England. 5. Name the causes which led Puritans to settle in towns. 6. How does this plan of settlement compare with that followed by the southern colonies? 7. Classify leaders in New England as conservative and as progressive. 8. Which class comes nearest our time? What does this prove? 9. What have we already heard about the Puritan Revolution, or the Civil War in England? 10. What was the difference between the two revolutions in England? Which produced the greater changes in America? 11. What proprietary colonies have we already studied? 12. What other colonies were founded by the people themselves? 13. Name the leaders and state which of these colonies were democratic and which conservative. Where would you

class the Plymouth and the Massachusetts Bay colonies? 14. What became of the colony of New Haven? of Maine? of Plymouth?

(84-106) I. What had the people of Holland done before the settlement of New York? 2. Who were the patroons and what did Maryland and the Carolinas have that was like the patroon system? 3. What were the reasons that New Netherland did not get selfgovernment as soon as the other colonies? 4. Why did the Dutch settlers refuse to fight when the English came to conquer New Netherland? 5. What things did the English do for the advantage and the disadvantage of the colony? 6. What first became of the colony of New Sweden? What was its fate finally? 7. Who first settled New Jersey, and how did it become English? 8. Draw a line between East and West Jersey. 9. Who occupied each part and how did the two parts finally become one? 10. Why did the people of New Jersey have no trouble with the Indians? II. When did the Quakers first arise? 12. If a person obeys the inward voice, what will he believe and not believe? 13. Who was the most famous man among the Quakers? 14. In how many and in what ways did William Penn prove that he was a true Quaker? 15. Why was Penn's work in Pennsylvania called a "Holy Experiment"? 16. Penn and the

Indians? Penn and the settlers?

(107-150) 1. Make a list of European nations sending people to settle in America and indicate the nations sending the most settlers. 2. What class of people did not come to America? 3. Name the important towns in colonial days. 4. Which colonies were most purely English? Where did the Dutch and Scotch-Irish settle? The Germans? 5. Describe the first colonial houses and the furniture belonging to them. 6. Why did the log cabin and the blockhouse follow the frontier? 7. How did young people in different sections "pass the time away"? 8. How did a colonial schoolhouse differ from yours? 9. Why were libraries so scarce then? 10. Explain how the kinds of religion came to tolerate each other. 11. Why did they punish people publicly in colonial times? Why not now? 12. How did the farmer in old colony days differ from the farmer of Europe? 13. What occupations were common to all the sections? 14. What was the leading occupation in each section? 15. Why did the colonial farmer raise so little wheat? 16. Prove that the farmer was an independent man. Is he independent still? 17. Why was the small farmer a "jack of all trades"? 18. What other occupations did shipbuilding call for? 19. How did England look on colonial manufactures?
20. What were smuggling and piracy?
21. Where did we get our present-day state, county, and town government?
(160-177) 1. Picture the Indian battle at Lake Champlain in

(160-177) 1. Picture the Indian battle at Lake Champlain in 1609. 2. Trace the routes of Joliet and La Salle. 3. What was the Frenchman's plan for possessing New France? 4. What were the causes of King William and Queen Anne's wars? What did England gain? 5. What were Englishmen and Frenchmen doing

in America during the long peace? 6. Why did both France and England want the region about the source of the Ohio? 7. Why was George Washington chosen for the trip to order the French out of this region? 8. What did the meeting at Albany try to do? 9. What was another name for the French and Indian War and why so named? 10. What great Englishman planned England's victories? 11. Why did the Englishmen want to get Quebec and why did the colonists rejoice over their victory? 12. What was the meaning of the victory to England and to the colonists? 13. What

had these great wars done for the colonies?

(178-197) I. How did European nations treat their colonies?
2. If England treated her colonies so well, why did she and the colonies begin to quarrel?
3. Prove that George III had German ideas about England and America.
4. Why did English statesmen opposing him support the Americans?
5. Explain what the people in America and England did to defeat the Stamp Act.
6. Keep a list of great Whigs in England until the end of the Revolution.
7. Give an example of the way the committees of secret correspondence worked.
8. Causes and effects of the Intolerable Acts?
9. Visit the First Continental Congress and tell what you see there.
10. Why and by whom were the English Whigs kept posted on the Continental Congress?
11. What did the Whigs of England do to prevent war from breaking out?
12. Shut your eyes and tell the story of the fight at Lexington and Concord.
13. Picture the battle of Bunker Hill.
Why did the British lose so many men?
14. Prove it is better to

win a battle by strategy than by fighting.

(108-230) I. Prove that George III caused the separation of the colonies from England. 2. Which side would you have taken? Are you sure? 3. What are the rights of man? Read the causes of separation named in the Declaration of Independence. 4. What did Europe think? 5. See note 71 for the most famous Tories. 6. What was our purpose before the Declaration was issued? After it? 7. Prove that the British had reason to think the war over. 8. Picture the battles of Trenton and Princeton. Make a list of the times Washington surprised the British. 9. Resolved that Washington was wise or unwise in following the method of Fabius. 10. What great men came to join the Americans now? 11. What good came out of Valley Forge? 12. What was the plan of Burgoyne? 13. Why was each part not carried out? 14. What great effect did it have in Europe? 15. Franklin's work in France? 16. Effect on England of the treaty between France and America? 17. Beginnings of the American navy-John Barry and Paul Jones? 18. Give the story of Boone, Robertson, and Clark.

19. Why did the British go south and what success did they have?

20. Tell of Marion and his men. 21. Name the three battles in the South before Cornwallis started orth. 22. Why did Washington start for Yorktown? 23. Give the effects of Yorktown. 24. Give the story of the heroines of the Revolution.

(240-267) I. How did the people make constitutions? What colonial examples did they have? 2. How did they make the Confederation? What early examples did they have? 3. On what principle did they agree in making the Confederation? 4. Name the political and military defects of the Confederation, also the trade defects. 5. Why do people speak of the Ordinance of 1787 as a famous document? 6. What events frightened some men into going to Philadelphia in 1787? 7. Prove John Fiske was right in calling this a "critical period." 8. What other such periods have we had in our history down to 1920? 9. Get acquainted with the great men in the Convention and see what each did. 10. How did they disobey orders?, 11. What was the first great dispute in the Convention and how was it settled? 12. Do you agree with Washington's speech? 13. How did the states ratify the Constitution? 14. Who opposed ratification? 15. What was the Bill of Rights? Where did it come from? 16. Name the great departments of government under the Constitution and a list of powers granted to each. 17. How does the Supreme Court declare a law constitutional or

unconstitutional? 18. Read over the first ten amendments.
(268-295) 1. Name the states with a larger population today than the nation had in 1790. 2. In what way were we and in what ways were we not independent of Europe? 3. Effect of the war on education? On religion and morals? 4. What did people think about slavery in colonial times and in 1790? 5. What good effect did the war have on industry? 6. What two revolutions were there in Europe in the latter half of the eighteenth century? 7. How did Samuel Slater get his machinery to America? 8. Tell of the effects of the cotton gin on the South and on the North. o. Where was the "West" in 1700? Describe how people got there. 10. Where did they trade and why? What danger was there in this western trade? II. Where could men travel the most rapidly in 1790? Where now? 12. How did the makers of the Constitution intend presidential electors to vote? How do they vote now and why? 13. Make a continuous picture of Washington's journey to New York. 14. Write short sketches of the men Washington appointed to office. 15. Explain the origin of political parties. Which of them correspond to the parties of today? 16. What hard questions were raised by the French Revolution? 17. Compare Washington's position in 1793 with Wilson's position in 1914. 18. Have you read Washington's Farewell Address? 10. Explain the X. Y. Z. affair. 20. Name the causes and the effects of the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions. 21. Give a full account of the campaign and election of 1800.

(296-311) 1. Prove that not all of the criticisms of Jefferson were true. What did he believe that we accept now? 2. Why was he so popular in his first term? Who was Albert Gallatin? 3. Causes and effects of the purchase of Louisiana? 4. How did the purchase show that both Jefferson and the Federalists were not consistent?

5. What two ends were served by the Lewis and Clark expedition?
6. Study the admission of early states and show between what years the people went west in greatest numbers. 7. Sketch Napoleon. Was he good, bad, or both? 8. Whom would you have sided with, Napoleon or England? 9. Was the Embargo a success or a failure? 10. What did Jefferson and Madison do to keep from war? Who were the "War Hawks"? 11. The inequality of the two nations in the war?

(312-322) I. Why were Americans generally successful in the West and not in the East? 2. Picture the battle between the "Constitution" and the "Guerriére." 3. How do you explain our victories on the sea? 4. Name two events in the war for both Englishmen and Americans to be ashamed of. 5. Why would the battle of New Orleans not occur now? 6. What was there awkward in the Hartford Convention for Federalists and Republicans? 7. Explain how the Embargo and the war stimulated our home manufactures. 8. What caused the protective tariff of 1816? Who favored and who opposed it? 9. What do a hundred years of peace between England

and America mean?

(323-364) I. Why did the people rush west after the War of 1812? 2. How did the farmers get on when first settling in a new region? How did the wife furnish her table? 3. The cause for the call for internal improvements? Who was the great champion of this movement for roads, canals, etc.? 4. What were the uses of the steamboat in that day? 5. The effect of the first steamboat from New Orleans to Louisville? 6. Picture scenes on the Cumberland Road. 7. Locate leading canals and show how the Erie Canal operated. 8. What became of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, begun in 1827? o. What were the older states doing in this time? 10. How did their people divide over internal improvements and a protective tariff? II. What new problems did the new states introduce? 12. The cause and purpose of the Missouri Compromise? 13. Origin of Spain's trouble with her colonies? 14. Who were the heroes of South America? Who gave them sympathy? 15. What was the "Holy Alliance"? Who were the leading men opposed to the Alliance? 16. Cause, nature, and purpose of the Monroe Doctrine? 17. When has the United States asserted this doctrine? 18. When lately was it under discussion? 19. What was the "era of good feeling"? 20. Explain the changes that had come to the common man since colonial days. 21. Account for the election of John Quincy Adams. 22. What were the strong points and the weak ones in Jackson's character? 23. What was the "Spoils System"? What became of it? 24. Prove that Jackson was the fighting president. Who were the great men against him? 25. Causes and effects of the panic of 1837? 26. Picture the Log Cabin and Hard Cider Campaign (1840).

(365-400) 1. Compare the United States in 1790 and 1860. Compare North and South. 2. How do you explain the difference in population between the North and South? 3. Where did the Americans

who moved west before 1820 settle? 4. Explain the nature of immigration, 1830-1860. Where did the immigrants settle and why? 5. Effect of new immigration on new states and on the balance of power between the North and the South? 6. Compare "home life and pastimes" on the frontier with those of colonial days and in 1790. 7. What changes had come in the older states? 8. Indicate changes in common and in high schools and in colleges. o. Leaders in education? 10. Early writers and the "children's poets"? 11. Newspapers and magazines? Which of these are yet alive? 12. What was the lyceum? Does it exist today? 13. The "circuit rider"? The camp meeting? 14. Moral reforms and improvement in laboring conditions? 15. Origin of labor unions? 16. What was the cause of the woman's movement and who were its leaders? 17. Why was the farmer a "conservative"? '18. What were the leading farm inventions in this period? 19. What caused the factories to grow rapidly? What changes came in them? 20. The inventions that gave women relief? 21. Why was Pennsylvania the great industrial state in this period? 22. Prove that Morse and Field were great heroes. 23. How did railroads grow in this period? 24. How long did it take ships in colonial days to get across the ocean? In 1850? 1920? Any shorter way of getting over? 25. Meaning of Perry's visit to Japan?

(401-430) 1. State the fundamental differences between the North and the South. 2. How was the South disappointed over the first protective tariff? 3. Picture the Webster-Hayne debate. 4. What was Jackson's position? 5. Personalities in the debate on the "Force Bill" and the "Compromise Tariff"? 6. The position of the slave? 7. What did the Abolitionists demand? What did that mean for the slave? 8. What was Calhoun's position? 9. What was the position of the South? Of the North? 10. Battle over the right of petition? II. Why could the Americans and the Mexicans not get on well together? 12. What did Sam Houston do for Texas? 13. How did Texas become a part of the United States? 14. Why did Polk win in the campaign of 1844? 15. What nations laid claim to the Oregon country? 16. Describe a journey to the Oregon country. 17. Explain how settlers in the Willamette region took the lead. 18. What were the Oregon "battle cries" in the campaign of 1844? 19. Why did Polk take the line of 49°? 20. The real cause and results of the Mexican War? 21. Who opposed the war and why? 22. What was the Wilmot Proviso? 23. What was odd about the presidential candidates in 1848? 24. Who were the Free-Soilers? 25. How did we get possession of California? What was the effect of the discovery of gold in that region? 26. Where did the majority of the settlers in California come from and why? 27. How did they stand on the slave question? 28. Who was the author of the Compromise of 1850? 29. What different positions did the great men of the country take in the great Debate? 30. What was the "Underground Railroad"? "Personal Liberty Laws"?

(431-452) I. Early career of Douglas? 2. How did Douglas kill the Whig party and shatter the Democratic party? 3. Why was it easier for the North to send voters to Kansas than for the South? 4. What was "popular" or "squatter" sovereignty? 5. How was Douglas treated by his own neighbors? 6. What did the two parties do in Kansas? The effect upon the country? 7. The campaign of 1856 and what the result shows? 8. What was the Dred Scott decision? How was t a double blow? 9. The early career of Lincoln? 10. What was the point to his speech when he was nominated for the Senate? 11. Describe the "joint debates" and show what their effects were. 12. How did the debates help split the Democratic party at Charleston in 1860? 13. Why was Lincoln elected in 1860? 14. The patriotic conduct of Douglas? 15. Describe the different attempts at conciliation. Why was it not possible? 16. Reasons for and against secession? 17. Why did the South think she could succeed?

(453-485) I. Military problems of the war? 2. England's attitude toward North and South? 3. How did the "Monitor" save the blockade? Show how the blockade helped win the war. 4. Explain the different steps taken by Union troops in the West to the time of the fall of Vicksburg. 5. How did McClellan get his army to the "Peninsula"? 6. What was the result of the campaign? 7. Who was General Pope and why did Lee win in the second battle of Bull Run? 8. What relation did this battle have to Lee's invasion of Maryland? 9. What bearing did the battle of Antietam have on results of the war? 10. What was the first purpose of the war? Did Lincoln change this purpose? II. What did his enemies say to this? 12. Why did Lincoln issue a first proclamation? 13. What connection did Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville have with Gettysburg? 14. Would you have quit after Gettysburg if you had been General Lee? 15. What was the difference between "War Democrats" and "Peace Democrats"? 16. Who were "Copperheads"? 17. What was the political situation during the campaign of 1864?

(486-512) 1. Name the war campaigns in 1864 and in 1865 and tell the results of each. 2. Tell the story of Lee's surrender. 3. How did Lincoln's assassination affect the fortunes of the South? 4. What were the different effects of the war on the Union and on the Confederacy? 5. Why was the planter such a sufferer? 6. Who was secretary of the treasury and what did he do? Name other members

of the Cabinet.

(513-522) 1. What was Lincoln's plan of reconstruction? What great principle was it based on? 2. Why did Congress not like Johnson? 3. In what sense did the Thirteenth Amendment complete the work of emancipation? 4. How did Congress try to protect the negro? 5. What caused Congress to impeach President Johnson? 6. State the main point in the congressional plan of reconstruction. 7. Did the congressional plan cause the "Carpetbag" rule in the South? Prove your answer. 8. What was the Ku-Klux Klan?

What means did it use? Why was it suppressed? 9. What were the points to the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments? 10. How

do the people of the South feel toward them?

(523-544) I. What kind of president did General Grant make? 2. What do you know about Horace Greeley? 3. What caused the panic of 1873? 4. What effect did it have on Congress? 5. What new questions were coming up in the Hayes-Tilden campaign? 6. If you had been Tilden would you have given up so easily? Why? 7. What did Hayes do for the South? Its effect on him and on the South? 8. Why were western farmers dissatisfied with the big political parties? o. What did the Grangers accomplish? ro. What did the Greenback party demand? 11. What were the demands of the Populist party? 12. Why were the people dissatisfied with the Harrison administration? 13. What caused the panic of 1893? 14. State some effects of it. 15. Why did the Louisiana senators fight the Wilson tariff bill? 16. How can a bill become a law without the president's signature? 17. Why was an income tax law passed in 1893? 18. What is the result when the Supreme Court declares a law unconstitutional?

(545-572) I. What reasons were given for the fall in prices from 1873 to 1897? 2. What was "the crime of '73"? 3. What remedy did the farmers and silver miners of the West offer for low prices? 4. What two silver purchase acts were passed? 5. Why was the purchase of silver stopped? 6. What is the most valuable product of Alaska? 7. What is the value of world's expositions? 8. What does "free silver" mean? 9. What is "imperialism"? 10. In what campaign was imperialism an issue? 11. Explain the failure of the "free silver" plan. 12. How much gold is there in a gold dollar? 13. What is meant by saying that the gold dollar is the standard? 14. Review Roosevelt's political career before he became president. 15. Why did he oppose the trusts? 16. How did he help to bring about peace between Japan and Russia? 17. Why was Roosevelt so popular? 18. What was the estimated wealth of the United States in 1918? 10. Name some natural resources. 20. Why have natural resources been wasted? 21. What was Roosevelt's plan regarding the forests of the West? 22. How did Taft help conservation? 23. Who looks after the forests? 24. Give some idea of how destructive forest fires are. 25. What is the object of irrigation? 26. Who looks after it? 27. Compare the area of irrigated land in the United States to the area of West Virginia. 28. Why was the country disappointed in the Payne-Aldrich Act? 29. If there is \$167,000,000 deposited in the postal savings banks, how much interest does the government pay out each year? 30. How do parcel post rates compare with the rates for first-class mail? 31. What were the "special interests"? 32. Explain the break between Taft and Roosevelt. 33. How was Taft nominated? 34. What did the Progressives demand? 35. Who dominated the Democratic convention at Baltimore? 36. Explain Wilson's victory.

(573-604) I. Describe conditions in Cuba before 1898. 2. What interest did Americans have in the struggle? 3. Describe the sinking of the "Maine." 4. What promise did the United States make when it declared war on Spain? 5. Describe the battle of Manila. 6. Who were the "Rough Riders"? 7. Describe the exploit of Lieutenant Hobson. 8. How do you explain the defeat of the Spanish fleet? 9. State four provisions of the Treaty of Paris. 10. Show that the United States kept its promise. II. In what ways is the United States related to Cuba now? 12. Give five results of the war. 13. What does it mean to say our isolation is ended? 14. When did the demand for a canal at Panama arise? 15. Why were farmers and manufacturers in favor of it? 16. Why did the French fail? 17. What did the trip of the "Oregon" have to do with building the canal? 18. How much did we pay for a strip of land for the canal? 10. How did our men get rid of yellow fever? 20. When was the canal completed? 21. How long and how wide is it? 22. What are the locks for? 23. Give some examples of distances saved by the canal. 24. Why were the Hawaiian Islands not annexed in 1893? 25. Of what use is a coaling station? 26. How did the United States get the island of Tutuila? 27. Explain the "Boxer" rebellion. 28. What was Hay's "open door" policy? 29. Why does China regard the United States as her best friend? 30. Who was the leader of the Filipinos in their resistance to the Americans? 31. What steps have been taken to improve conditions in the Philippines? 32. What is the United States trying to do in the Philippines? 33. Is there any chance for them to secure independence? 34. Do you think they should be granted independence now? Why? 35. What is international arbitration? 36. What reason can you give for using it? 37. Name four cases in which arbitration was used. 38. What was the question in the seal fisheries case? The Alaskan boundary case? The Venezuela case? 30. How many times have England and the United States arbitrated their differences since 1789? 40. What were the main purposes of the Hague meetings? 41. Why did they not end war? 42. What is the principal feature of the "wait-a-bit" treaties? 43. What was the cause of Venezuela's trouble in 1902? 44. Why does the United States have troops in Santo Domingo and Haiti? 45. Why was Diaz driven from Mexico? 46. How many presidents has Mexico had since Diaz? 47. Explain the interest of Americans in Mexico. 48. Why did neither Taft nor Wilson wish to send troops to Mexico? 49. What was the "A. B. C." intervention? 50. What new meaning is being given the Monroe Doctrine? 51. How do the large South American states feel toward this Doctrine? 52. What is a Pan-American congress? 53. How many have been held? 54. Of what use are they? 55. What is the Pan-American Union? 56. What are its purposes? (605-635) 1. When did immigration begin to increase rapidly? 2. Why did not the immigrants go to the South? 3. Explain the increase of immigration after the Civil War. 4. What nations

contributed to the settlement of the Northwest? 5. State the relation of railroads to immigration. 6. About when did the immigration from Central and Eastern Europe begin? 7. Where did these people settle? Why? 8. What effect did this immigration have on politics? 9. Have you ever been in the foreign quarter in a city? 10. Why did people want to keep the Chinese and Japanese out of this country? 11. What trouble does the Federal government have on this account? 12. What is it to be naturalized? 13. Describe the process. 14. Should all foreigners be compelled to be naturalized? 15. Why did the later groups of immigrants find it hard to become Americans? 16. What steps can be taken to Americanize our immigrants? 17. How did the coming of the factories change the relations of employers and workers? 18. Explain the revival of the labor union movement after the Civil War. 19. Describe the organization of the American Federation of Labor. 20. About how many unionized men are there in the country? 21. What is collective bargaining? Why do unions believe in it? 22. Name an employers' organization. 23. What is picketing? 24. Give an example of time lost in strikes. 25. Give an example showing how hard it is to keep violence out of strikes. 26. Does the public have any interest in strikes? 27. What was Roosevelt's attitude? 28. What part does the government take in strikes? 29. What is a boycott? 30. Why do the unions object to the injunction? 31. What points of the labor question did the Clayton Act cover? 32. What plan have the unions followed to get the support of the political parties? 33. What objections are there to child labor in factories? 34. What is the Children's Bureau to do? 35. What steps have been taken to make the workers safe? 36. Name some occupations that are dangerous to workers. 37. What reasons can you give in favor of workingmen's compensation acts? 38. Why should everybody be interested in preventing injury to workingmen? 30. Why are some employers in favor of welfare work? 40. Why did men begin to organize trusts? 41. Tell of the growth of the trusts. 42. What is the effect of the trusts on the small producers? 43. What did the railroads gain by combining? 44. Do you live near a branch of any great railroad system? If so, what system is it? did the people feel angry over the growth of "big business"? 46. What was the object of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act? 47. Name two companies that were prosecuted. 48. What was the result? 49. What have we learned about "big business"?

(636-654) I. Why did people begin holding nominating conventions? 2. Why did they begin holding primary elections? 3. Does your state hold presidential preference primary elections? 4. Why was the old system of voting bad? 5. Wherein is the Australian system better? 6. Does your state use the short ballot? 7. Why did people begin using the system of "direct legislation"? 8. Does your state use the initiative, the referendum, or the recall? 9. Why was the Seventeenth Amendment adopted? 10. Which is growing

faster, city or rural population? II. Why is the problem of city government a hard one? 12. What is a city charter? 13. Describe the ordinary city government. 14. Why did people complain of it? 15. Where did the commission plan start? Describe it. 16. Name six cities that use it. 17. Why are city managers hired? 18. What are they supposed to do? 19. Name five cities that have city managers. 20. What is necessary to get a good city government? 21. Where did socialism start? 22. What objections have socialists to private ownership? 23. What would they do about it? 24. State some arguments for and against socialism. 25. Why do the socialists wish to get control of the American Federation of Labor? 26. When did the Socialist party cast its biggest vote? 27. In what way is a protective tariff different from a tariff for revenue only? 28. Was the Underwood tariff a tariff for revenue only? 29. Why did Congress pass the Income Tax Law of 1913? 30. Why was the Federal Reserve Act passed? 31. In what Federal Reserve district do you live? 32. Why did the United States send an army to Mexico in 1916? 33. Should the United States conquer Mexico? Why? 34. Why did

we buy the Virgin Islands?

(660-602) r. Why was the mountain region the last to be settled? 2. What was the object of the Homestead Act? 3. What was a "bonanza" farm? 4. What states owe their settlement largely to the Northern Pacific Railroad? 5. What national park is in Montana? 6. Why did the fur companies struggle for the territory near the mouth of the Columbia? 7. Explain the large population of Washington when it was admitted to the Union. 8. Why did the Mormons go to Utah? 9. For what purpose was the Indian Territory set apart? 10. Why were the white men so anxious to get into the Territory? 11. What railroads opened up the Southwest to settlement? 12. Why did the Spaniards explore the territory of New Mexico and Arizona? 13. Sum up the part of the railroads in the settlement of the West. 14. What was the reason for the rapid growth of the cities after 1900? 15. What qualities did the frontier develop in its people? Why? 16. Why is the West the home of reform? 17. What was the main cause of trouble between the white men and the Indians? 18. When did Congress begin moving the Indians beyond the Mississippi? 19. Tell of the death of Custer. 20. Why was reservation life bad for the Indians? 21. Was the Dawes Act an improvement? Why? 22. What is the fact about the Indians dying out? 23. Why should people living in a country like ours be educated? 24. Why has education been backward in the South? 25. Why is the elementary school very important? 26. What per cent of the children starting to school have dropped out by the end of the sixth grade? 27. Why do they drop out? 28. What new subjects have been added to the course of study? 29. What per cent has attendance in high schools increased since 1880? 30. Is there a good high school in your neighborhood? 31. State two big changes in high schools since 1880. 32. Why

should a teacher be trained for her work? 33. What did the Morrill Act do for education? 34. What can a student study at the state university? 35. Why were vocational subjects added to the course of study? 36. What practical subjects can boys and girls study in vocational schools? 37. Do you think parents should be compelled to send their children to school? Why? 38. Why were night schools started? 39. What is meant by saying a school is a "community center"? 40. Do you have a community center in your neighborhood? 41. What good has been done by medical inspection in schools? 42. Do you think women need higher education as much as men? Why? 43. Do you know of any college or university that does not admit women? 44. Will giving women the right to vote have any effect on this situation? 45. Name something that "Mark Twain" wrote besides the books mentioned in the text. 46. Try to find the poem Columbus and read it. 47. Name three southern writers. 48. Have you read any of Riley's poems? Which do you like best? 49. Who wrote the *Hoosier School Boy?* 50. Name three short-story writers; two novelists. 51. Do you read a daily newspaper? A periodical? 52. Name three current events magazines. 53. Does your school take one? 54. Is there a free public library near you? 55. Does your school have a library? 56. Of what use is it? What kind of books does it contain? 57. What great gift did Mr. Carnegie make the American people?

(693-733) 1. What are exports? Imports? 2. Why do nations exchange goods? 3. What advantages have our farmers? 4. Show how our export of farm products has grown since 1880. 5. What are our largest agricultural exports? 6. Why do we not export corn in large quantities? 7. Explain the growth in manufactured exports since 1880. Is this a good thing for us? 8. Why is Europe our best customer? 9. Why does not England produce all the farm products she wants? 10. Why must a nation import goods if it wants an export business? 11. Is it a bad thing to import goods? 12. What are the principal articles imported by the United States? 13. What is a "favorable" balance of trade? 14. Why did the United States have only a small export trade to South America until a few years ago? 15. What does "reciprocity" mean? 16. What relation does the Panama Canal have to trade with South America? 17. Why are Americans getting more business in South America than they used to have? 18. What countries of South America are our best customers? 19. What is the merchant marine? 20. Do you favor a subsidy for the merchant marine? Why? 21. What part of the world's wealth do we produce each year? 22. How has wealth grown in comparison to population? 23. Give reasons for the rapid growth of wealth. 24. Do you think it pays the country to keep up the universities and agricultural colleges? Why? 25. Of what use are the scientists? 26. Give illustrations. 27. Why is machinery used on the farm?

28. How has the use of machinery on farms increased? 29. In what

sense is the farmer dependent upon the means of transportation? 30. What does it cost now to send wheat from Kansas to Liverpool? 31. Illustrate how extending transportation affects other industries by the case of dairying. 32. Why did the farmers begin running grain elevators for themselves? 33. What state has gone into the business? 34. Could we get along as well today without cold storage plants? 35. Mention several respects in which the farmer's life has recently changed. 36. What is the effect of these changes upon continued improvement? 37. Show that farm tenancy is growing. 38. Is this a good thing? Why? 39. What were the reasons for starting land banks? 40. Do you think it pays the country to keep up the Department of Agriculture? Why? 41. How does the number of people engaged in agriculture compare with the number in manufacturing? 42. Give six main reasons for the development of manufacturing. 43. How many classes of manufactured goods does the census make? (See Census Report.) 44. In what ways does manufacturing use science? 45. Give examples of direct production. 46. Give examples of indirect production. 47. Which is better? Why? 48. Give examples of division of labor. 49. Why do the factories work on this plan? 50. Why are machines important in production? 51. What factors control the location of factories? 52. How do the states rank in manufacturing? 53. Illustrate the growth of the South in manufacturing. 54. Why was it slow getting started? 55. Give some illustrations of how industries are localized in certain cities. 56. How do the industries rank according to numbers of workers? 57. How according to value of output? (See Census.) 58. Name ten manufacturing cities according to their rank. What are by-products? 60. Give an illustration of how science has shown how to use them. 61. What city leads in meat packing? 62. Of what use is the refrigerator car? 63. Why is the iron industry centered in the Pittsburgh district? 64. What other iron districts have been developed? 65. Why was the cotton manufacturing industry first developed in New England? 66. Why was it slow to develop in the South? 67. How do the states rank in cotton manufacture? 68. What was the industrial revolution? 69. Why does the inventor go to work? Give two illustrations. 70. Why does invention not stop when a machine has been invented? 71. When was the first patent law passed? 72. Do you think it a wise thing for the government to issue patents? Why? 73. Give some figures indicating the great number of patents issued in the United States. 74. Name ten inventions not listed in the text.

(734-778) 1. What do you think was the real cause of the World War? 2. Imagine yourself in Wilson's place between 1914 and 1917. Tell what problems he had to face. 3. State the immediate cause of war. 4. Why had so many Americans gone to war before war was declared by this country? 5. Make a list of the ways people at home helped win the war. 6. Make a list of war organizations at home.

7. Make a list of warships. 8. Make a list of what the soldier saw and did before he went to France? 9. Why were Americans rushed to France before entirely prepared to fight? 10. What was done to overcome this defect? 11. How long had the Allies been fighting when American soldiers entered the war? 12. Which was the greatest battle for the Americans? 13. What connection was there between the work of the English and American navies and the Armistice? 14. State the chief points imposed on Germany by the Armistice. 15. What great social changes were caused by the war? 16. Give a brief account of the religious changes due to the war. 17. How do you account for the Harding election?

THE "MAYFLOWER" COMPACT

In ye name of God, Amen. We whose names are writen, the lovall subjects of our dread soveraigne Lord, King James, by ye grace of God, of Great Britaine, Franc, & Ireland, king, defender of ye faith, &c., haveing undertaken, for ye glorie of God, and advancemente of ye Christian faith, and honour of our king & countrie, a voyage to plant ye first colonie in ye Northerne parts of Virginia, doe by these presents solemnly & mutualy in ye presence of God, and one of another, covenant & combine our selves togeather into a civill body politick, for our better ordering & preservation & furtherance of ye ends aforesaid: and by vertue hearof to enacte, constitute, and frame such just & equall lawes, ordinances, actes, constitutions, & offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meete & convenient for ye generall good of ye Colonie, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witnes wherof we have hereunder subscribed our names at Cape-Cod ye 11. of November, in the year of ye raigne of our soveraigne lord, King James, of England, France & Ireland ye 18, and of Scotland ye fiftiefourth. Ano. Dom. 1620.

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE'

In Congress, July 4, 1776. The following declaration of principles was agreed to ou July 4, 1776,

and is thus recorded in the Journal of Congress for that day:

Agreeably to the order of the day, the Congress resolved itself into a committee of the whole to take into their further consideration the Declaration; and, after some time, the president resumed the chair, and Mr. Harrison reported that the committee have agreed to a Declaration, which they desired him to report. The Declaration being read, was agreed to as follows:

THE UNANIMOUS DECLARATION OF THE THIRTEEN UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they

should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their

¹The use of capitals, the punctuation, the paragraphing, and the numbering of paragraphs are all modern. In the original draft the use of capitals and punctuation marks was quite different and there was no division into paragraphs,

safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present king of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his assent to laws, the most wholesome and

necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and, when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

3. He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature—a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

5. He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly for opposing,

with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise; the state remaining, in the meantime, exposed to all the dangers of invasions from without and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these states; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising

the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

8. He has obstructed the administration of justice by refusing his

assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

9. He has made judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices and the amount and payment of their salaries.

10. He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people and eat out their substance.

11. He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures.

12. He has affected to render the military independent of, and

superior to, the civil power.

13. He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our Constitution and unacknowledged by our laws, giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us.

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these states.

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world.

c. d. For imposing taxes on us without our consent.

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury. e. For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended

offenses.

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies.

h. For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws,

and altering fundamentally the forms of our governments.

i. For suspending our own legislature and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

14. He has abdicated government here by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

15. He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns,

and destroyed the lives of our people.

16. He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized

He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the 17. high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

18. He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in our attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time, of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind — enemies in war; in peace, friends.

We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America. in general Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare that these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and do all other acts and

things which independent states may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

The foregoing declaration was, by order of Congress, engrossed and

signed by the following members:



New Hampshire
Josiah Bartlett
William Whipple
Matthew Thornton

Massachusetts Bay Samuel Adams John Adams Robert Treat Paine Elbridge Gerry

Rhode Island Stephen Hopkins William Ellery

Connecticut
Roger Sherman
Samuel Huntington
William Williams
Oliver Olcott

New York
William Floyd
Philip Livingstom
Francis Lewis
Lewis Morris

New Jersey Richard Stockton John Witherspoon Francis Hopkinson John Hart Abraham Clark

Pennsylvania
Robert Morris
Benjamin Rush
Benjamin Franklin
John Morton
George Clymer
James Smith
George Taylor
James Wilson
George Ross

Delaware Cæsar Rodney George Read Thomas M'Kean

Maryland
Samuel Chase
William Paca
Thomas Stone
Charles Carroll of Carroll ton

Virginia
George Wythe
Richard Henry Lee
Thomas Jefferson
Benjamin Harrison
Thomas Nelson, Jun.
Francis Lightfoot Lee
Carter Braxton

North Carolina
William Hooper
Joseph Hewes
John Penn

South Carolina
Edward Rutledge
Thomas Heyward, Jun.
Thomas Lynch, Jun.
Arthur Middleton

Georgia
Button Gwinnett
Lyman Hall
George Walton





PROVISIONS OF THE CONSTITUTION

Some steps toward federation, resulting in the Constitution:

The New England Confederacy (1643). The Albany Plan (1754). The Stamp Act Congress (1765). The Committees of Correspondence (1773). The First Continental Congress (1774).
The Declaration of Independence (1776). Articles of Confederation Adopted (1781). Convention at Annapolis (1786). Constitutional Convention (1787).

With regard to the United States Government the Constitution provides for:

Legislative Department.

House of Representatives Senate.

Executive Department.

President. President's Cabinet. Federal Judges.

Federal Courts.

Judicial Department.

Manner of election. By the people of the several states. Term of office. Two years.

With regard to the members of the House of Representatives, the Constitution provides for:

With regard

to the members

of the Senate.

the Constitution

provides for:

Twenty-five years old. Seven years a citizen of the Qualifications.

United States. Live in state where chosen.

Among the states according to the Distribution. number of inhabitants. The census.

Every ten years.

Members elect the Speaker. A presiding officer. Members electroner to impeach Federal officers.

Number. Term of office.

Two from each state. Manner of election. By the state legislatures.1 Six years.

Qualifications.

Thirty years of age.

Nine years a citizen of the United States.

Presiding officer.

Live in state where elected. Vice-President of United States. In absence of Vice-President Sen-

ate elects president pro tem. Their acting as court to try impeachments brought by the House of Representatives.

Term of office. Manner of election.

Four years. By presidential electors chosen by the people of the several states. Natural-born citizen of the United

States.

Qualifications.

Thirty-five years of age. Fourteen years' residence in

Oath of office.

United States. To support the Constitution of the United States.

1 Amendments, Article XVII.

With regard to the President. the Constitution provides for:

With regard to the By President with the Their appointments. Federal Judges, the consent of the Senate. Constitution provides Their number. Fixed by Congress. for: Their term of office. During good behavior. The Constitution One Supreme Court. provides for Federal courts: Inferior courts to be established by Congress. Every year on first Time of meeting. Monday of December. Ouorum. Majority. The Constitution Each house determine its rules of procedure. provides for Congress: Each house keep a journal. Neither house may adjourn for more than three days without the consent of the other. The method of passing laws. To lay taxes.1 To borrow money. To regulate commerce. Naturalization of foreigners. To pass laws to regulate Bankruptcy. To coin money. To fix standard of weights and measures. Congress To establish post offices. To provide for patents and copyrights. has power: To declare war. To raise and support armies. To maintain a navy. To provide for a standing army. To admit new states. To pass laws necessary to carrying out the above powers. Navy. Commander-in-chief of: Militia in service of the United States. The Presi-Grants reprieves and pardons. Makes treaties. dent's powers: Ambassadors. With the consent of

Ministers. Appoints the Senate, Consuls. Federal Judges.

Send messages to Congress. Convene extra sessions of Congress when necessary. The President's duties: Receive ambassadors. Execute the laws.

¹ Amendments, Article XVI.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES1

We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this CONSTITUTION for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I

THE LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT

THE CONGRESS: ITS DIVISIONS AND POWERS

Section 1. All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

THE HOUSE: ITS COMPOSITION AND POWERS

The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several states, and the electors in each state shall have the qualifications requisite for elec-tors of the most numerous branch of the state legislature.

No person shall be a representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that state in which he shall be chosen.

(Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons.) The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each state shall have at least one representative; and until such enumeration shall be made the state of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three; Massachusetts, eight; Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, one; Connecticut, five; New York, six; New Jersey, four; Pennsylvania, eight; Delaware, one; Maryland, six; Virginia, ten; North Carolina, five; South Carolina, five; and Georgia, three.

When vacancies happen in the representation from any state, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers, and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

THE SENATE: ITS COMPOSITION AND POWERS

Sec. 3. The Senate of the United States shall be composed or two senators from each state [chosen by the legislature thereof ²], for six years; The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two and each senator shall have one vote.

¹ In the use of punctuation and capitals this draft is modern.

² The phrase in brackets has been set aside by the XVIIth Amendment.

Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year; of the second class, at the expiration of the fourth year; of the third class, at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year; [and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any state, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall fill such vacancies. I

No person shall be a senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that state for which he

shall be chosen.

The Vice-President of the United States shall be president of the

Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a president pro tempore, in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise

the office of President of the United States.

The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments; when sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside; and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall, nevertheless, be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment,

and punishment according to law.

CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS AND DATE OF ASSEMBLING

SEC. 4. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives shall be prescribed in each state by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time, by law, make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators.

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by

law appoint a different day.

RULES OF PROCEDURE OF SENATE AND HOUSE

SEC. 5. Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner and under such penalties as each house may provide.

Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two-

thirds, expel a member.

Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either house on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

Neither house, during the session of Congress, shall, without the

¹ The phrase in brackets has been set aside by the XVIIth Amendment.

consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

COMPENSATION AND PRIVILEGES OF MEMBERS

SEC. 6. The senators and representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

No senator or representative shall, during the time for which he

No senator or representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased, during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either house during

his continuance in office.

METHODS OF LEGISLATION

Sec. 7. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amend-

ments as on other bills.

Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve, he shall sign it, but if not, he shall return it, with his objections, to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two-thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of that house, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and

limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

POWERS VESTED IN CONGRESS

Sec. 8. The Congress shall have power:

To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

¹ Seven thousand five hundred dollars a year, and twenty cents for every mile necessary traveled in coming to and returning from the Capital.

To regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several states, and with the Indian tribes:

To establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on

the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and

current coin of the United States:

To establish post offices and post roads;
To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing, for limited times, to authors and inventors, the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court:

To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offenses against the law of nations;

To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules

concerning captures on land and water;

To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

To provide and maintain a navy;

To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces:

To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the

Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions;

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the states, respectively, the appointment of the officers and the authority of training the militia according to the

discipline prescribed by Congress;

To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular states, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the state in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful buildings; and—

To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying

into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any depart-

ment or officer thereof.

LIMITS TO POWERS OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

SEC. 9. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the states now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in case of rebellion or invasion the public safety may

require it.

No bill of attainder or ex post facto law shall be passed.

No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken.

No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any state.

No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce of revenue to the ports of one state over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one state, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

No money shall be drawn from the treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from

time to time.

No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States. And no person holding any office of profit or trust under them shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

LIMITS TO POWERS OF THE STATES

SEC. 10. No state shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or law impairing the

obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

No state shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any state on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

No state shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops, or ships of war, in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another state, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not

admit of delay.

ARTICLE II

THE EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT

THE EXECUTIVE OFFICERS; THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE

Section I. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected, as follows:

Each state shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the state may be entitled in the Congress; but no senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or

profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

[The electors shall meet in their respective states and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the president of the Senate. The president of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and

have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said house shall, in like manner, choose the President. But in choosing the President the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice-President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice-President. 1

The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the

same throughout the United States.

No person except a natural-born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and

been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President; and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation² which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any

of them.

Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation: "I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

POWERS GRANTED TO THE PRESIDENT

SEC. 2. The President shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several states, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices; and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate shall appoint, ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and

¹ The paragraph in brackets has been set aside by the XIIth Amendment.
2 The President receives \$75,000 a year, and \$25,000 additional for traveling expenses; the Vice-President receives \$12,000 a year.

which shall be established by law; but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers as they think proper in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

The President shall have power to fill up vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall

expire at the end of their next session.

THE PRESIDENT'S DUTIES

OEC. 3. He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

IMPEACHMENT OF EXECUTIVE AND CIVIL OFFICERS

Sec. 4. The President, Vice-President, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III

THE JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT

THE FEDERAL COURTS - SUPREME AND INFERIOR

Section 1. The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

POWERS AND JURISDICTION OF THE FEDERAL COURTS

SEC. 2. The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more states; between a state and citizens of another state; between citizens of different states; between citizens of the same state claiming lands under grants of different states, and between a state, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens, or subjects.

In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls, and those in which a state shall be a party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions and under such regulations as the Congress

shall make.

The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the state where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any state, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

TREASON: ITS NATURE AND PUNISHMENT

SEC. 3. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture,

except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV

RELATIONS OF THE STATE AND FEDERAL GOVERNMENTS

RECOGNITION OF STATE AUTHORITY

Section 1. Full faith and credit shall be given in each state to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other state. And the Congress may, by general laws, prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

LAWS REGARDING CITIZENS OF THE STATES

SEC. 2. The citizens of each state shall be entitled to all privileges

and immunities of citizens in the several states.

A person charged in any state with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another state, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the state from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the state having jurisdiction of the crime.

No person held to service or labor in one state, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

ADMISSION OF STATES AND REGULATION OF UNITED STATES TERRITORIES

SEC. 3. New states may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new state shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other state; nor any state be formed by the junction of two or more states, or parts of states, without the consent of the legislatures of the states concerned as well as of the Congress.

The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any partic-

ular state.

PROTECTION GUARANTEED BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

SEC. 4. The United States shall guarantee to every state in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the legislature, or of the Executive (when the legislature cannot be convened), against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V

POWER AND METHOD OF AMENDING THE CONSTITUTION

The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several states, shall

call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several states, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no state, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI

PUBLIC DEBTS; THE SUPREME LAW; OATH OF OFFICE; RELIGIOUS TEST PROHIBITED

All debts contracted and engagements entered into before the adoption of this Constitution shall be as valid against the United States

under this Constitution as under the confederation.

This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding.

The senators and representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several state legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several states, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII

RATIFICATION AND ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION

The ratification of the conventions of nine states shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the states so ratifying the same.

Done in convention by the unanimous consent of the states present, the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the independence of the United States of America the twelfth.

In witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names.

Maghington Deputy from Virginia

New Hampshire John Langdon Nicholas Gilman

Massachusetts Nathaniel Gorham Rufus King

Connecticut William Samuel Johnson Roger Sherman

New York Alexander Hamilton New Jersey
William Livingston
David Brearley
William Paterson
Jonathan Dayton

Pennsylvania
Benjamin Franklin
Thomas Mifflin
Robert Morris
George Clymer
Thomas Fitzsimons
Jared Ingersoll
James Wilson
Gouverneur Morris

Delaware

George Read Gunning Bedford, Jun. John Dickinson Richard Bassett Jacob Broom Maryland
James McHenry
Daniel Jenifer of St. Thomas
Daniel Carroll

Virginia John Blair

James Madison, Jun.

North Carolina William Blount Richard Dobbs Speight Hugh Williamson

South Carolina

John Rutledge Charles Cotesworth Pinckney Charles Pinckney Pierce Butler

Georgia William Few Abraham Baldwin

Attest: WILLIAM JACKSON, Secretary

AMENDMENTS

Articles in addition to, and amendment of, the Constitution of the United States of America, proposed by Congress, and ratified by the legislatures of the several states pursuant of the fifth article of the original Constitution.

ARTICLE I¹

FREEDOM OF RELIGION AND SPEECH; RIGHT OF ASSEMBLY

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II RIGHT TO BEAR ARMS

A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III

QUARTERING OF TROOPS

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner; nor in time of war but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV

RIGHT OF SEARCH PROHIBITED

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be

¹ The first ten amendments were proposed in 1789, and adopted before the close of 1791. They were to "more efficiently guard certain rights already provided for in the Constitution, or to prohibit certain exercises of authority supposed to be dangerous to the public interests."

violated, and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V

RIGHT TO TRIAL BY JURY

No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war and public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life and limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI

RIGHTS OF ACCUSED IN CRIMINAL CASES

In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the state and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

ARTICLE VII

SUITS AT COMMON LAW

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise reëxamined in any court of the United States than according to the rules of common law.

ARTICLE VIII BAIL AND FINES

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX

MODIFICATION OF ENUMERATED RIGHTS

The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X

POWERS RESERVED TO STATES AND THE PEOPLE

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people.

ARTICLE XI¹

LIMITATION TO POWER OF THE FEDERAL COURTS

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another state, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state.

¹ Adopted in 1798.

ARTICLE XIII

NEW ELECTORAL LAW

The electors shall meet in their respective states and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President; and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate; the President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted; the person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the vote shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote. A quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list the Senate shall choose the Vice-President. A quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

ARTICLE XIII² ABOLITION OF SLAVERY

SLAVERY AND INVOLUNTARY SERVITUDE PROHIBITED

Section 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

SEC. 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appro-

priate legislation.

ARTICLE XIV8

NEW LAWS MADE NECESSARY BY THE CIVIL WAR

QUALIFICATIONS FOR CITIZENSHIP

Section 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside. No state shall make or enforce

¹ Adopted in 1804. 2 Adopted in 1865. 8 Adopted in 1868.

any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

APPORTIONMENT OF REPRESENTATIVES

Sec. 2. Representatives shall be appointed among the several states according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each state, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, representatives in Congress, the executive or judicial officers of a state, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such state, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such state.

DISABILITY FOR BREAKING OATH OF OFFICE

Sec. 3. No person shall be a senator, or representative in Congress, or elector of President or Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any state, who, having previously taken an oath as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any state legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any state, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two-thirds of each house, remove such disability.

THE PUBLIC DEBT

SEC. 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any state shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

Sec. 5. Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legis-

lation, the provisions of this article.

ARTICLE XV1 RIGHT OF SUFFRAGE

RIGHT GUARANTEED TO ALL CITIZENS

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any state, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

SEC. 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appro-

priate legislation.

¹ Adopted in 1870.

ARTICLE XVII

INCOME TAX

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes. from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several states and without regard to any census or enumeration.

ARTICLE XVII 1

DIRECT ELECTION OF SENATORS

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each state, elected by the people thereof for six years; and each senator shall have one vote. The electors in each state shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the state legislatures.

When vacancies happen in the representation of any state in the senate, the executive authority of each state shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies; Provided, That the legislature of any state may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct.

This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

ARTICLE XVIII2

PROHIBITION

Section 1. After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors with the importation thereof, or exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof, for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

Sec. 2. The Congress and the several states shall have concurrent

power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Sec. 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the constitution by the legislatures of the several states, as provided in the constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the states by the Congress.

ARTICLE XIX3 WOMAN SUFFRAGE

The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied by the United States or any state on account of sex.

¹ Adopted 1013. 2 Adopted 1919. 3 Adopted 1920.

THE APPENDIX

A TABLE OF THE STATES AND TERRITORIES

		. 1					
	DATES		No.	Name	Area in Square Miles 1	Population in 1920 2	Density of Population in 1920 (per square mile) 2
1. /	/ 1787, Dec.	7		Delaware	1,965	223,003	113.5
Adopted the Constitu-	1787, Dec.	12	2	Pennsylvania	44,832	8,720,017 3,155,900	420.0
sti	1787, Dec.	18	3	New Jersey	7,514	2,895,832	49.3
ü	1788, Jan.	2	4	Georgia	58,725 4,820	1,380,531	286.4
ŭ	1788, Jan. 1788, Feb.	9	5 6	Connecticut	8,039	3,852,356	479.2
0, 0	1788, Feb.	28		Maryland	9,941	1,449,661	145.8
는 다 다	1788, April 1788, May	23	7 8	South Carolina	30,495	1,683,724	55.2
-G 43	1788, June	23	9	New Hampshire	0,031	443,083	49.I
te	1788, June	25	10	Virginia	40,262	2,309,187	57.4
op	7788. Inly	26	II	New York	47,654	10,384,829	217.9
P	1788, July 1789, Nov.	21	12	North Carolina	48,740	2,559,123	52.5
₹,	1790, May	20	13	Rhode Island	1,067	604,397	566.4
	1791, March	4	14	Vermont	0,124	352,428	38.6
	1792, June	ĭ	15	Kentucky	40,181	2,416,630	60.4
	1796, June	I	16	Tennessee	41,687	2,337,885	56.0
	1803, Feb.	IQ	17	Ohio	40,740	5 59,394	141.4
	1812, April	30	18	Louisiana	45,409	1,798,509	39.6
	1816, Dec.	II	19	Indiana	36,045	2,930,390	81.3
	1817, Dec.	10	20	Mississippi	46,362	1,790,618	38.6
	1818, Dec.	3	2 I	Illinois	56,043	6,485,280	115.7
	1819, Dec.	14	22	Alabama	51,279	2,348,174	45.8
	1820, March		23	Maine	29,895	768,014	25.7
디	1821, Aug.	IO	24	Missouri	68,727	3,404,055	49.5
9	1836, June	15	25	Arkansas	52,525	1,752,204	33.3
n E	1837, Jan. 1845, March	26	26	Michigan	57,480	3,668,412	63.8
Admitted to the Union	1845, March		27	Florida	54,861	968,470	17.6
the	1845, Dec.	20	28	Texas	262,398	2,404,021	43.2
t	1846, Dec. 1848, May	28	20	Iowa	55,586	2,632,067	43.2
±	1850, Sept.	29	30	California		3,426,861	22.0
ď	1858, May	9	32	Minnesota	80,858	2,387,125	29.5
Ete	1859, Feb.	14	33	Oregon		783,389	8.2
-ii	1861, Jan.	20	34	Kansas	81,774	1,769,257	21.6
di.	1863. June	10	35	West Virginia	24,022	1,463,701	60.9
¥	1863, June 1864, Oct.	31	36	Nevada	109,821	77,407	0.7
	1867, March	I	37	Nebraska	76,808	1,296,372	16.9
	1876, Aug.	I	38	Colorado		- 939,629	9.0
	1889, Nov.	2	30	North Dakota	70,183	645,680	9.2
	1889, Nov.	2	40	South Dakota	76,868	636,547	8.3
	1889, Nov.	8	41	Montana	146,201	548,889	3.0
	1889, Nov.	ΙI	42	Washington	66,836	1,356,621	20.3
	1890, July	3	43	Idaho	83,354	431,866	5.2
	1890, July 1896, Jan. 1907, Nov.	10	44	Wyoming	97.594	94,402	1.9
	1896, Jan.	4	4.5	Utah	82,184	449,396	5.5
	1907, Nov.	16	46	Oklahoma	69,414	2,028,283	29.2
	1912, Jan. 1912, Feb.	6	47	New Mexico		360,350	2.9
ਦਰ	1912, Feb.	14	48	Arizona		333,903	2.9
i Sei	1868, July 1791, March	27		Alaska		54,899	0.1
- 2			1		60	437,571	7292.8
Organized	1900, June	14		Hawaii	6,4493	255,912	39.7
)rg				Porto Rico	3,4.353	299,809	378.4
0	Under Civil			Guam	115,0264	10,350,6405	
	Governmen	ı t		Guam Panama Canal Zone	436	13,275	59.0
	JOYCIIIIICII			American Samoa	93	8,056	86.6
				Virgin Islands	1494		
	A - / 1 T 1	-	1				
- 1	Actual land as	IEA.	e-XCIUC	ing water. Fourteenth Cen-	SILS OF THE	LITTLE Stat	65° 1030

I Actual land area, excluding water. Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920, Bulletin.

ulletin.
2 Fourteenth Census of the United States.
3 Aggregate area (land and inclosed water).
4 Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1919.
5 Figures refer to December 1918.
6 Figures refer to November 1917.

GROWTH OF THE UNITED STATES

Showing the Steady Increase in the Percentage of Town and City Population

Census Years	Total Population 2	Population Living in Cities ³	Percentage of Popula- tion Living in Cities	Number of Cities of 8,000 or more Inhabit- ants 3
1790	3,929,214	131,472	3.4	6
1800	5,308,483	210,873	4.0	6
1810	7,239,881	356,920	4.0	II
1820	9,638,453	475,135	4.0	13
1830	12,866,020	864,500	6.7	26
1840	17,069,453	1,453,994	8.5	44
1850	23,191,876	2,897,586	12.5	85
1860	31,443,321	5,072,256	16.1	141
1870	38,558,371	8,071,875	20,0	226
1880	50,155,783	11,318,547	22,6	286
1890	62,622,250	18,272,503	20.2	447
1900	75,477,467	24,902,100	33.I	545
1910	91,972,2664	38,517,727	41.8	1,232
1920	105,708,7714	50,444,090	47.7	1,605
Day Coulet China at Day	d. C	T7 1/ 1 C/		

- From Twelkh, Thirteenth and Fourteenth Census of the United States.
 Exclusive of Indian Territory, Indian reservations, and insular possessions.
 Places of 8,000 inhabitants or more are here designated as cities except, in 1910, and 1920, where 5,000 is taken as the limit.
 Exclusive of outlying possessions.

GROSS AREA OF THE UNITED STATES 1

Including Land and Water

170	rimering Lain	J GING FF GDC1	
CENSUS YEARS	Gross Area in Square Miles	Census Years	Gross Area in Square Miles
1790 1800 1810(Louisiana purchase,1803) 1820(Florida cession, 1819) 1830 1840 1850(Texas accession,1845,and Mexican cession, 1848) 1860(Gadsden purchase,1853) 1870(Alaska purchase, 1867)	2,059,043 2,059,043 2,059,043 2,080,059 3,025,600 3,616,484 3,616,484	1900 Hawaii (annexed, 1808) Porto Rico (ceded by Spain, 1899) Guam (ceded by Spain, 1899) Philippines (purchased from Spain, 1899) Samoa (by treaty with Great Britain and Germany, 1900) 1910 Panama Canal Zone (by	
1890	3,616,484	treaty with Panama,	

Based on the Twelfth Census of the United States, Vol. I., p. XXXII. From U. S. Department of Interior, Bulletin No. 302:

FACTS ABOUT OUR DEPENDENCIES

Name	How Acquired	When Acquired	Government	Area in Square Miles 1	Popula- tion
Hawaii PortoRico.	Annexed	July 6, 1898	Territory	6,449 3,435	25 5,9 12 1,299,809
Guam Philippines	By purchase from Spain	Feb. 6, 1899	ment by Con- gress	225 ² 115,026	13,275 10,350,640 ³
American Samoa	Treaty with Great Britain and Germany	Feb. 16, 1900	ment by Con- gress	93 ²	8,056
Panama Canal Zone	Treaty with Re-	Feb. 23, 1904	ment by Con-	436	22,858
Virgin Islands	(- 1 /	Feb. 19, 1917	Civil Govern- ment by Con- gress	149	26,0514

From Abstract of Thirteenth Census.
 Fourteenth Census of the United States, Bulletin.
 Figures refer to December 1918.
 Figures refer to November 1917.

A TABLE OF THE PRESIDENTS

No.	NAME	STATE	Born	Born Died	Served	By Whom Elected	VICE-PRESIDENT
H 6	George Washington	Virginia Massachusetts	1732	1799 1826	2 terms, 1789-1797	All the people Federalists	John Adams Thomas Jefferson
n	Thomas Jefferson	Virginia	1743	1826	2 terms, 1801-1809	Republicans 1	Aaron Burr George Clinton
4	James Madison	Virginia	1751	1836	2 terms, 1809-1817	Republicans 1	George Clinton
200	James Monroe	Virginia Massachusetts	1758	1831	z terms, 1817–1825	Republicans 1	Daniel D. Tompkins
						sentatives	John C. Calhoun
7	Andrew Jackson	Tennessee	1921	1845	2 terms, 1829-1837	Democrats	Martin Van Buren
∞	_	New York	1782	1862	I term, 1837-1841	Democrats	Richard M. Johnson
0	rison Henry Har-	Ohio	1773	1841	I month, March 4-April 4, 1841	Whigs	John Tyler
OI	_	Virginia	1790	1862	3 yrs., 11 mos., 1841-1845	Whigs	
II	James K. Polk	Tennessee	1795	1849	I term, 1845–1849	Democrats	George M. Dallas
13	Millard Fillmore	New York	1784	1850	2 yr., 4 mos., 5 days, 1849–1850	Whigs	Millard Fillmore
14	Franklin Pierce	NewHampshire		1869	I term, 1853-1857	Democrats	William R. King
15	James Buchanan	Fennsylvania.	1641	1808	I term, 1857-1861	Democrats	John C. Breckinridge
91	Abraham Lincoln	Illinois	1809	1865	I term, I mo., Io days, 1861-1865	Republicans	Andrew Johnson
17	Andrew Johnson	Tennessee	1808	1875	3 yrs., 10 mos., 20 days, 1865-1869	Republicans	
18	Ulysses S. Grant	Illinois	1822	1885	2 terms, 1869-1877	Republicans	Schuyler Colfax
61	Rutherford B. Hayes	Ohio	1822	1893	I term, 1877-1881	Republicans	William A. Wheeler
20	James A. Garfield	Ohio	1831	1881	6 mos., 15 days, 1881	Republicans	Chester A. Arthur
7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7	Grever Cleveland	New York	1837	1000	3 yrs. 5 mos., 15 days, 1661-1665	Kepublicans	Thomas A Hendricks
23	Benjamin Harrison	Indiana	1833	1901	I term, 1889–1893	Republicans	Levi P. Morton
24	Grover Cleveland	New York	1837	1908	I term, 1893-1897	Democrats	Adlai E. Stevenson
25	William McKinley	Ohio	1843	1061	I term, 6 mos., 10 days, 1897-1901	Republicans	Garret A. Hobart
26	Theodore Roosevelt	New York	1858	6161	3 yrs., 5 mos., 18 days, 1 term.		
27	William H. Taft	Ohio	1857	:	1901-1909	Republicans	Charles W. Fairbanks
28	Woodrow Wilson	New Jersey	1856	:	2 terms, 1912-1920	Democrats	Thomas R. Marshall
29	Warren G. Harding	Ohio	1865	:	Serving	Republicans	Calvin Coolidge
	The pupil should rem	ember that thes	e Den	nocrati	The pupil should remember that these Democratic Republicans are not the Republicans who elected Lincoln and have con-	blicans who elected	I Lincoln and have con-

'I be pupil should remember that these Democratic Republicans are not the Republicans who elected Lincoln and have controlled the government most of the time since the War between the States.

A PRONOUNCING INDEX

Webster's New International Dictionary has been used as the authority for spelling and pronunciation, except in the case of certain foreign names, where the Century Dictionary of Names has been used.

Acadia (a-kā'dĭ-a)

Aguinaldo (ä'gē-nāl'dō)

Alamo (ä'lä-mō)

Albany (ôl'ba-nǐ)

Albemarle (ăl'bē-mārl)

Alexandria (ăl'ĕg-zăn'drĭ-ā)

Algonquin (ăl-gŏn'kĭn) Allegheny (ăl'ē-gā'nĭ)

Alsace-Lorraine (ăl-sās'-lò'rān')

Anticus Vespucius (a-mer'i-kus

věs-pū'shŭs)

Amherst (ăm'erst)

Amiens (a'myăn')

André (än'drå)

Andros (ăn'drŏs)

Annapolis (ă-năp'ō-lis)

Antietam (ăn-tē'tăm)

Appalachian (ăp'a-lăch'ĭ-ăn) Appanattox (ăp'ō-măt'ŭks)

Argonne (är'gon')

Arkansas (är'kăn-sô')

Armada (är-mā'dā)

Assumption (ă-sămp'shun)

Astoria (ăs-tō'rĭ-a)

Aztecs (ăz'těks)

Bahama (ba-hā'ma)

Balboa (bāl-bō'ā)

Baltimore (bôl'tǐ-môr)

Barnard (bär'nård)

Bartram (bär'trăm)

Belcher (běl'cher)
Bergen (bûr'gĕn)

Biloxi (bǐ-lŏk'sǐ)

Birney (bûr'nĭ)

Bismarck (bĭz'mārk) Bolivar (bŏl'ĭ-var)

Bon Homme Richard (bo-nom'

rė-shär')

Burgoyne (bûr-goin')

Cabot, Sebastian (sė-băs'chăn

kăb'ŭt)

Cahokia (kā-hō'kĭ-ā)

Calhoun (kăl-hoon')

Carnegie (kär-něg'ĭ)

Carranza (kär-rän'thä)

Carteret (kär'ter-et)

Cartier (kär'tyā')

Cavuga (kå-voo'ga)

Cervera (ther-va'ra)

Champlain (shăm'plan')

Chateau-Thierry (shā'tō'-tyĕ'rē')

Chatham (chăt'ăm)

Chattanooga (chăt'a-nōo'ga)

Chesapeake (chĕs'ā-pēk) Chickamauga (chĭk'ā-mô'gā)

Chillicothe (chǐl'ǐ-kŏth'ė)

Chippewa (chip'ė-wä)

Cibola (sē'bō-lō)

Cincinnati (sĭn'sĭ-nat'ĭ)

Claiborne (klā'bôrn)

Clemens (klěm'ěnz)

Colombia (kō-lōm'bē-ä)

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